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Historic Notices

IN REFERENCE TO

FOTHERINGHAY.

ILLUSTRATED BY ENGRAVINGS.

BY

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AUTHOR OF THE LIFE OF BISHOP TAYLOR.

Before me winding pathways lead
To upland lawn and level mead;
Where Nene's silent sorrow laves
The princely Warriors' lowly graves,
And that dismantled Mount, where stood
The Towers imbued with Stuart's blood.

THE FOREST.

OUNDLE:

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LADY

CECILY GEORGIANA FANE,

&c. &c. &c.

THESE NOTICES ARE INSCRIBED,

IN TOKEN OF GREAT RESPECT,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

Preface.

It has been well observed by a venerable Antiquary[a], that "Fotheringhay has been distinguished beyond any other place in Britain, except the Capital, by the aggravated misfortunes of Royalty. And had this ancient Town been known only by the splendid foundation of that great Prince, Edmund of Langley, whose Grandson aspired to the throne of this Kingdom, and which his great Grandson, Edward the Fourth, by a more fortunate turn of affairs, actually ascended, it would have claimed the regard of the Historian."

As the account of Fotheringhay, imbodied in the History of Northamptonshire, and in the fortieth number of the Topographica Britannica,—scarce and expensive works,—are beyond the reach of the generality of readers; the design of the present publication is to afford such a History of this place as will answer present inquiry, or gratify those feelings which are strongest when the traveller is on the spot.

The writer has not thought it necessary to give the descent of property in the precise language of each conveyance; but he has been careful that no important point should be omitted. In some parts, he has endeavoured to illustrate the account produced by former writers on the subject, and in others, to present to the reader materials, new and interesting.

[a] John Nicholls Esq., author of the History of Leicestershire, &c.

A circumstantial account of the last moments and execution of that unfortunate Princess, the Queen of Scots, who suffered at Fotheringhay, with the ceremonial of her funeral at Peterborough, is appended.

The work is peculiarly directed to the notice of the Traveller; who, carrying it to the spot, and finding small remains to gratify taste or prolong inspection, except the Church, which is conspicuous above every other object in the vale, may feel no inferior gratification, by tracing in these pages a variety of character and event, which, in their day, were commanding and momentous, though the strength of their colours be softened to our view by the shade of antiquity. Whether we call to mind St. Liz raising his massive towers to do honour to his Bride, and protect his Possessions; both the reward of the conqueror;—or are roused by a more busy scene of Vassals, headed by the factious De Fortibus, surprising the Warder by a resolute and unexpected assault;—whether we descend to later time, when the enlightened minds of De Balliol and Dervorguilla were here directed to the advancement of learning;—or the heroic spirit of Plantagenet, in the plenitude of baronial power, taught his aspiring sons to "wade through slaughter to a throne;"—whether the pomp and circumstance of Execution, the fatal axe, the undaunted Sovereign and afflicted attendants, press upon our imagination, contrasted with the silence and desolation that succeeded;—we shall, in these events, find something to compensate for the absence of the sculptured arch, and mouldering battlement.

In the style of a work designed for popular use, the writer has ventured occasionally to depart from the rigid rule of the Historian, and to relieve the monotony

of mere narration, by introducing the language of the Muse. To collect materials for an account of Fotheringhay was an employment of his early youth. They have lain long neglected; and are now brought forward at the urgent request of the publisher;—to whose sole benefit this first impression of these Notices is appropriated.

The following are the sources from which the Writer's materials are extracted: An ancient Manuscript in his possession; Manuscripts belonging to the Vicar of Fotheringhay; Harleian Collection; Records in the Chapter-House, Westminster; Bridges' History of Northamptonshire; the fortieth number of the Topographica Britannica; Rymer's Fœdera; Camden's Life of Elizabeth, &c.; and above all, *an unpublished Record* of DUGDALE, in the possession of George Finch Hatton Esquire—to whom the writer takes this opportunity of expressing his grateful acknowledgments.

It is hoped that this account will prove satisfactory to persons attached to similar pursuits: and to those, who, from more serious habits, can find neither instruction nor amusement in the illustration of Topographical subjects, an apology may be offered in the language of the Tragedian;—

"Better to spend whole ages with the dead,
Pore on a broken marble, to retrieve
A single letter of a brave man's name,
Who died at Marathon or Agincourt;
Than spend one moment in deceit and vice.[a]"

[a] Sewell's Sir Walter Raleigh. Act 2nd. Sc. 1st.

ORDER OF THE PLATES.

ERRATA.

Line 16. page 47. before "of York," read *Archbishop.*

Line 4. page 97. for "abame," read *auburne.*

Line 4. page 105. for "or to hear," read *and* to hear.

Line 4. note. page 114. for "to," read *of.*

Fotheringhay.

PART THE FIRST.

FOTHERINGHAY, on the north bank of the river Nen in Northamptonshire, though now reduced to a small Village, held formerly the rank of a Market-Town, was conspicuous as the principal seat of the PLANTAGENETS, and as the place where the QUEEN OF SCOTS was condemned to close a life of sorrow and captivity on the scaffold.

It is in the eastern division of the county, and hundred of Willibrook; in a country still answering to Leland's description of it: "being marvellous fair corn ground and pasture, with but little wood." On the west, the prospect is bounded by the extensive forest of Rockingham, and the lordships of Wood-Newton and Southwick; on the east by Warmington and Elton; on the north by Nassington; and on the south by the lordships of Warmington and Tansor: from these last it is divided by the River Nen, that runs at the foot of the slope on which the village stands.

The name of this place is variously spelled by the authors who have mentioned it. In Domesday it is called *Fodringeia;* which Leland properly renders *Foderingeye*, meaning *Fodering inclosure*—or that part of the forest which was separated from the rest, for the purpose of producing hay.

The approach to the village was anciently across a ford of the river, at the distance of half-a-mile to the south-east, through a small park, and in front, or on the north side, of the castle. The present entrance is over a bridge of four arches, at first erected by order of Queen Elizabeth. This was recorded on a tablet formerly on the spot. Dr. Stukeley saw this tablet:—on the top was a knot between the initials

"E. R."

and below this;

"God save the Queen."

"This Bridge was made by Queen Elizabeth in the 15th yere of her Reygne. A. D. 1573."

During the great rebellion, the parliamentary troops, in their barbarous zeal against monarchy, as they passed through this place, erased with their swords the words "God save the Queen." The bridge, at that time, consisted of four piers of stone covered with wood, and fenced on each side; in one part by a wall, and in the other by a railing. The tablet was inserted in the wall on the left hand, after having passed the bridge, on the side nearest the college yard. The bridge was rebuilt, as it now stands, in 1722, by George Portwood, a mason of Stamford, of stone from the quarry at King's Cliffe, and by order of Daniel, Earl of Nottingham, and the trustees of William Savile, Marquis of Halifax, at that time proprietors of the estate.

The Village.

THE Village, as in the time of Leland, "is but of one street, all of stone building," and exhibits little of its former character. It is seven hundred and twenty yards in length, and contains forty houses; exclusive of three farm houses on different parts of the estate. The number of inhabitants is about three hundred.

At the eastern end of the street are two houses nearly opposite each other, called the old and new inns. The former has long been converted into small tenements for the use of the poorer parishioners, and has nothing remarkable in its appearance. The latter is the remains of a more substantial and handsome edifice; a survey of which was taken in the twenty-first year of James I. 1624, and is thus transmitted: "To the Castle belongeth a large house built with stone, with two fair courts and a back part with barns and stables, standing at the east end of the town, called the new Inn; containing a hall, a parlour, a kitchen, divers other chambers, fair stables, barns, and outhouses.[a]"

[a] Extract of the survey taken at the time, late in the possession of William Berridge of Fotheringhay, who died 1802, aged 80; whose family has been resident in this village more than two centuries.

Also, Lib. Chart. MS. penes Tho. Boughton de Cliffe, gen. 1719, quoted by Bridges; and in the Topog. Brit. No. 40.

The front of this building, injured as it is by time, preserves its original form, and affords a specimen of the domestic architecture of the fifteenth century. The entrance is under a gothic arch, decorated with roses and armorial bearings. Above the entrance is a window, ornamented in a similar manner. On the left of this window is a shield, bearing France and England, quarterly, for Edward IV.; on the right, the same, impaling a saltire, (Nevile of Raby,) for Richard Duke of York and his Duchess Cicely: on the right of the gateway is Mortimer, for the Countess of Cambridge, Mother of Richard Duke of York; and on the left, Castile and Leon, for Isabel, wife of Edmund of Langley, the younger daughter of Peter King of Castile and Leon, and mother of the Earl of Cambridge. These represent four generations in succession; and we may fairly infer that this edifice was erected by King Edward IV.

The galleries, mentioned by former writers, "as running round the inner court," have been removed; and no part of the interior affords any thing to attract attention. It forms at present three sides of a quadrangle. The greater part of it is converted into barns and granaries, and the rest is still inhabited.

In the centre of the village, at the north-west corner of the Churchyard, is an open space, called the Market-stead, where, on a Wednesday, the weekly market was formerly held. The privilege of this market, and of the Fair held yearly on the eve of St. Michael and two following days, is first mentioned in a grant given to the Earl of Richmond, in the second year of Edward II. 1309[a]: which grant was afterwards,

[a] See Bridges's Northamptonshire, with reference to Nom. Villar.

at the request of Richard Duke of York, confirmed[a]; and the time of holding the fair changed from Michaelmas to the day after Relick-Sunday[b], the anniversary of Thomas a Becket. It is still kept at that time of the year. But the market had lapsed into disuse even in the reign of Edward IV.: for Leland, speaking of that King, says, "he had thought to have privileged it with a market;" which would not have been the case had the privilege of a market been then enjoyed. Though renewed in the time of Richard Duke of York, it was soon deserted; and as we find no account of its being actually renewed by King Edward IV., nor by any of his successors, after that time it was never restored.

On this spot probably stood the CROSS, mentioned in an ancient manuscript in the writer's possession. It might possibly have been in a field west of the town, known by the name of *White-Cross-Field.* The Cross seems to have been destroyed in the year 1580, if the record in the note be considered sufficient evidence[c].

The same record also reminds us of the festivities of which this spot was formerly the scene; where among the expences of the year 1578, a sum is paid to the carpenter for "squaring the MAYPOLE that stands in the Market-steede." The Fair is held annually on this spot.

[a] Topog. Brit. No. 40. with reference to Cart. ab ann. 27 ad 39 Hen. 6. n. 18.

[b] The Sunday after 7th July.

[c] "Received of John Lyn for stones standing round the Crosse, 4*s* : 3*d*." (Ancient MS. in possession of the writer,)—probably "the very ancient MS. Book of the affairs of the Parish," mentioned by Stukeley, Itin. Curios. p. 33.

The Grammar School.

THERE is a School here, free to the inhabitants of the town, for *Grammar Learning*, and endowed with a small stipend from the Exchequer; which is at present paid out of the fee-farm rents of the county of Northampton. The Lords of the Treasury are the Patrons. No authentic document has descended to illustrate the origin of this Foundation. It is not improbable that it is the continuation of the school founded for the Choristers of the College; at the reformation suspended, and revived again upon the establishment of protestantism. This is hinted in an account given by Mr. Phillips, the King's Auditor, to Mr. Jonathan Welby, the Master, in 1675; in which he says, "we are not certain of the Founder of the school, but have reason to believe it was founded by King Edward VI.; no doubt but it is very ancient, and probably as ancient as the College of Fotheringhay, and had the same Founder[a]." Stukeley says it was erected by King Henry VII., but does not mention his authority; he seems to allude to the School-room only, over the door of which he tells us these words were inscribed,

"Disce, et discede."

There certainly was a school here in the reign of Mary:

[a] Appendix Topog. Brit. No. 40. p. 99.

and Queen Elizabeth granted the stipend of Twenty Pounds per annum to the Master, to be paid out of the Exchequer.

The former mode of obtaining the stipend is expressed in the following letter from the Earl of Oxford to the Auditor and Receiver General of the county of Northampton:—

"Whereas the inhabitants of the town of Fotheringhay, in the county of Northampton, have prayed my warrant, that the sum of Twenty Pounds per annum, payable to the Master of the free-school there, may be paid unto John Loveling, clerk, Bachelor of arts, (who is Schoolmaster of the said free-school, in the room of Samuel Whitworth, deceased,) out of the revenues of the said county, in like manner, as the like yearly sum was paid to the said Samuel Whitworth: These are to authorise and require you, the auditor, to make forth debentures for paying to the said John Loveling, or his assignees, as well such sum and sums of money as are already due, as what shall hereafter grow due on the said allowance of Twenty Pounds per annum. And that you, the Receiver General, do from time to time, pay the same accordingly: And for so doing this shall be your warrant."

"Whitehall Treasury Chambers, 4th of Nov, 1713

OXFORD."

At present, the mode of appointment is by nomination of the inhabitants under their hands. This is sent to the deputy-receiver of the fee-farm rents of the county of Northampton, who sees that the name of the master is inserted in the debenture, and pays the salary.

A legacy of Five Pounds was bequeathed to this school by Mr. Howard Beecher, to be disposed of in the purchase of books. The nature of this bequest is expressed in a letter from the brother of the donor, to Mr. Holcot, the Vicar of the time; dated Ampthill, July 19th, 1716, of which the following is an extract:

"I give and bequeath the sum of Five Pounds unto the Free-School in the town of Fotheringhay, in the county of Northampton, where I was born, to be disposed of in Books, for the public benefit of the said school, as the School-Master thereof and Minister of the said Parish shall think fit[a]."

It may be stated, though affording but little gratification, that the money was expended in the purchase of the following works,—

Athenian Oracle, 4 vols.
Cicero's Select Orations.
Clarendon's History, 6 vols.
Cole's Dictionary.
Greek Common Prayer and Testament.
Greek Testament.—Oxford Accidence.
Bentley's Horace.—Leigh's Critica Sacra.
Ovidii Metamorphoses, Delphin Edition.
Prideaux's Connection, 2 vols.
Schrevelii Lexicon.
Terentius, Oxford Edition.
Virgil, Menelius' Edition.
Walker's Particles, and Walker's Idioms.

In all there were twenty-six volumes; several of which are now worn out. To this collection the present worthy master has added several volumes.

[a] Topog. Brit. No. 40. p. 105.

The School Room and the Master's House are on the north side of the Churchyard: the former was rebuilt in 1723. The earliest Master, whose name has descended to our time, is

Thomas Hurland, 1556; who died 1589:

after him occurs Rev. John Johnson, who died 1620, and is buried in the chancel of the neighbouring church at Tansor[a].

———Byfield.
Thomas Weld.
John Weld.
Henry Bridges.
Robert Taylor.
Edward Halles.

[a] On the south side of the chancel at Tansor, within the communion rails, in a black marble tablet, within a border of alabaster, on which is inscribed

Hic jacet sepultus Johannes Johnsonus, qui natus fuit
Astoniæ in Eboracensi; educatus autem Leicestriæ,
Unde profectus est Cantabrigiam; ubi postquam artibus
Magister fuerit inauguratus, Burghleium juxta Stanfordiam
Est evocatus, ad illustrissimi Thomæ Cecilii Equitis (nunc
Comitis Exoniensis) liberos bonis literis et piis moribus imbuendos.
Hinc per quatuor annos Fotheringiæ Gymnasiarcha fuit electus et institutus, posthac sacris ordinibus initiatus Rector
Ecclesiæ parochialis de Tansor fuit creatus. Hic
postquam Verbum Dei per annos viginti diligentissime prædicasset,
fundamenta religionis Christianæ fidelissime jacuisset,
Et Hæreses Papistarum summa cum doctrina tum maximo zelo
accurate satis refutasset, feliciter ex hac vita misera
Emigravit, et in Domino Jesu placide obdormivit
28° die Octobris
Anno Regni Regis Jacobi 18° annoque Verbi incarnati
1620.

Hic etiam jacet Elizabetha Johnson ejusdem Johannis Johnson Uxor, quæ obiit 2° die Februarii 1620.

Ambrose Appleby.
——————Smith.
Jonathan Welby, ... 1647.
Thomas Bennet, ... 1696.
Samuel Whitworth, ... 1700.
Rev. John Loveling, ... 1713.
Rev. John Morgan,..... 1735.
Rev. George Griffiths, .. 1781.
Rev. Robert Linton, .. 1790.

Another Benefactor to this place was Mr. Robert Roane, of Chaldon, in Surrey; who, by will dated the 10th of May, 1672, gave to the poor forty shillings annually for ever, to be paid out of the fee-farm rent of the Rectory of Oundle, to the Minister and Churchwardens of Fotheringhay for the time being, and to be distributed upon the 1st day of January, according to their discretion.

To this account of benefactions must be added the name of William Brudenel, of Stanton Wyvel, in Leicestershire; who, in the year 1617, gave Five Pounds to the Poor of Fotheringhay, in consideration of his having been born and christened at this place. The Earl of Newport, also, in the year 1640, appears to have been a benefactor to the Poor. But the most liberal benefaction to them, is that which was conveyed by deed[a], dated the sixth of March, 1662, and confirmed in chancery; by which Sir George Savile, then proprietor of the Estate, conveyed an annuity of

[a] Papers in the custody of the Parish; printed in Topog. Brit. No. 40, p. 47.

Thirty Pounds per annum, charged on fifty-six acres in that part of the lordship, called *Walcot-Field*[a], to six Trustees, yeomen of the parish, and to their successors, in trust for ever; to be paid half-yearly, in March and September, and to be applied to the benefit of the poor, in such a manner as the Vicar, Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor shall appoint; with an express desire, that "they are so to employ the income, as that the rates or contribution of the able persons in the parish towards the Poor's Money be not eased, and yet the most necessitous and honest relieved."

The present liberal Proprietor, THOMAS BELSEY Esq., attentive to the comfort of the inhabitants, has rebuilt and repaired the greater part of the Cottages, allotting gardens to each, and letting them at very low rents. The whole estate has been improved by his management. He built the three Farm Houses already mentioned, and a house in the center of the village, for his Steward. To these instances of attention and benevolence, must be added the handsome benefaction lately made by his sister, Mrs. MARY BELSEY, to the Church; consisting of a silver Flagon, Patin, Chalice and cover, ornamented with symbols of the Crucifixion within a radiated border.

Of Persons who have borne the name of this place, WALTER de FODERINGEY is the most eminent. He was the first Principal of Balliol College Oxford,

[a] In Fotheringhay Park, is *Walcot*, or *Fotheringhay-Park House*, a Forest boundary, says Bridges's History of Northamptonshire, Vol. 2. p. 458. The house has long been demolished.

on its foundation[a] by John de Balliol, in 1282. This situation he is said to have resigned for a Prebendal Stall at Lincoln. He was collated to the Prebend of Marston St. Laurence, in that Cathedral, on 5 cal. Ap. 1298, which he exchanged for Nassington in 1311[b]. He appears also to have been Rector of one moiety of Tansor, in 1299.

[a] Some of the evidences sent by the Founder, and preserved at Balliol College, are dated from Fotheringhay Castle.

[b] Brown Willis places *William de Foderinghay* in the Prebend of Beraginta Solidorum, in 1305; All Saints 1305; and Welton Beckhall, 1306. He also states that *Ralph de Fotheringhay* died possessed of Langford Manor Prebend, in 1316: all these are in the Church of Lincoln.

The Lordship.

This Lordship is situate, as already stated, in the hundred of Willibrook: and is bounded on the north by Nassington; on the west by Wood-Newton and Southwick; and on the south and east by the river Nen, and the lordships of Warmington and Elton.

It is within the perambulation of the forest of Rockingham, and Bailiwick of Cliffe; but was, at a remote period, freed from the taxes to which parishes so circumstanced were liable.

The survey taken on the third of April, 1625, states the situation of the Manor;—that it is within the outer walls of the Castle;—and that the mansion, formerly the house of the Dukes of York, was, at that time, the capital house of the manor.

The lordship contains two thousand and nine acres two roods and thirteen poles, exclusive of the land belonging to the Vicarage, and a wood called How-Wood, adjoining the lordship of Southwick, containing thirty-two acres two roods and eleven poles.

The annual land-tax upon this property is two hundred and seventeen pounds sixteen shillings and fourpence, exclusive of the Vicarage, and a small estate belonging to Mr. Ord. It is at the rate of four shillings in the pound.

The descent of the property, being the same as that of the Castle, will be given in treating of that subject.

It is only necessary to add, in this place, the description of it, contained in the general survey recorded in Domesday. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, it "was the freehold of TURCHILL, and was valued at eight pounds;" but in 1086 "it was rated at twelve pounds." At that time, the Countess JUDITH, niece of the Conqueror, "held in it six hides[a]." "The arable land was twelve carucates. Two hides with three carucates were in demesne." There were also "three Servants, and nineteen Villanes," or small tenants, who held cottages and lands, for which they were charged with certain servile offices, and were conveyed as an estate, or appurtenance of the manor. There were also "a Priest and six Cottagers, who held nine carucates." Besides these there was "a mill, of the yearly rent of eight shillings; and forty acres of meadow; and a wood a mile long and nine furlongs broad; which, when taxed, and not hunted in by the King, was worth ten shillings."

The inclosure of the parish is said to have taken place in the year 1635.

In process of time the fences decayed, and the timber was almost wholly reduced; but to these points the present proprietor has paid great attention, and has added large plantations of oak and other trees.

The soil is loamy, upon a stratum of gravel, and produces wheat, barley, oats, beans, peas, turnips,

[a] "Virgata terræ continet, 24 acres; et 4 virgatæ constituunt unam hidam, et quinque hidæ constituunt Feodum militare." MS. Abbot Malmes: quoted in Chambers' Dict. But it varies according to the place.

clover and most other grasses: But whether it affords any scarce specimen for the botanist, the writer is not able to assert.

Of the feathered tribe that frequent the fields, the following may be mentioned:—The raven, the carrion crow, the rook, the jackdaw, and sometimes the Royston crow; the kite, the buzzard, and various species of small hawks, particularly one called the hobby, and the merlin. The large brown eagle has more than once been seen passing over the lordship. The great and lesser owls, of the horned species, are met with in the neighbouring woods, as well as the brown and grey. Of migratory birds, the whole of the swallow tribe, the woodcock, the snipe, the landrail, the quail, the wild-duck, wild-goose, teal and widgeon, grey plover and heron, are common; but the wild-swan, the curlew, and the green or spotted plover, are less often seen. Sea gulls of various kinds, frequent the river, as well as the coot and the moor-hen. Of the more common birds there are the pigeon, the woodpigeon, the blackbird, starling, lark, reed-lark, throstle or thrush, sparrow, reed-sparrow, hedge-sparrow, water wagtail, common and yellow, bullfinch, goldfinch, chaffinch, writing-lark or bunting, brown linnet, green linnet, the robin, the nightingale, the wren, and the diminutive titmouse. To these may be added the mizzletoe-thrush, the cuckoo, several sorts of woodpeckers, the jay, and magpie, the fly-catcher, and the fern-owl or goat-sucker, the pheasant and the partridge.

Of the furry species, the badger, the martin-cat, the fulmart, stoat and weasel, occasionally occupy the hollow trees and banks; in the river, the otter is

frequently seen: while the neighbouring forest supplies the lordship with the hare and rabbit. Of reptiles, the common snake, the frog, the toad and the newt, may be noted.

The river produces the pike, perch, tench, bream, ruff, roach, dace, gudgeon, bleak, minnow, the bed and silver eel; and, sometimes, the salmon and the trout.

A very ancient road passes over the western part of this lordship. Though unnoticed by Stukeley and other writers on the subject, it may reasonably be attributed to a remote period. In the neighbouring parish of Cotterstock, on the south-west of Fotheringhay, and in that part of the field through which the road passes, several Roman Pavements, have, from time to time, been discovered[a]: and as it continues in a north-westward direction, skirting the ancient forest of Rockingham, and crossing Whittering Heath, its resemblance to the most ancient roads of the kingdom is the more visible. In times subsequent to the Norman Conquest, it seems to have been the direct line of communication between London and Stamford. Edward III. was at Oundle, in his way to Stamford, in the second year of his reign: and in the year following, the Jurors touching bridges and highways, presented to Geoffrey de Scrop and others, justices itinerant, at Northampton, the bridge at Walcot-forth, (over which this road passes in this parish,) as being dilapidated, and

[a] In the year 1736, in ploughing a headland in Cotterstock Field, called the *gilded acre*, a Roman pavement of great beauty was accidentally discovered, 20 feet square, and very little defaced, the border 7 feet wide, consisting of red, light blue, and grey stones, about one inch and a quarter square; the work within the margin was

obstructing the passage of horse and carriage from Oundle to Stamford[a]. The direction of this road is parallel to the Nen, mentioned by Tacitus as a boundary of the military operations under Ostorius[b]. And it is worthy of remark, that most other places bearing the name of *Walcot*, (and possibly all of them,) are seated near some remains of the Romans; either on a road, by a foss, or near an entrenchment; which throws great probability upon the supposition that this line of communication was formed during the time they possessed the country.

10 feet square, consisting of white, red, and blue tesseræ, in elegant reticulated and other patterns, and in each corner four hearts, their points to the corners. In the stratum of loose earth, west of this pavement, were fragments of urns, some oyster-shells, and large nails.

A bed of ashes lay on this spot, with the horns and bones of some beast. The adjoining lands were scattered over with small stones and pieces of tile, and some fragments of urns; and a large freestone was taken up, and converted into a watering trough; and other foundation stones. Five or six coins of Valentinian were found among the rubbish thrown off the pavement, which was supposed to reach further west. It was engraved by VERTUE for the Society of Antiquaries. The coins engraved, were the most perfect among many others of the lower empire.

In 1798 another pavement was found on the same acre with the former, and nearly in the centre of the field, on land belonging to Mr. Selby; and adjoining to it some other pavements, but of very inferior description and much broken.

Near the pavement were two large bogs, one of them on Mr. SELBY's land, on draining which, it was found to contain a cistern made of oak planks, and paved at the bottom, six feet square by seven or eight deep, entirely filled with rubbish, among which was a large pair of horns of the stag kind, and sculls of other animals; pipes of wood, were also discovered, that appeared to have had communication with the other bog, which probably may have been another cistern. The water that issues from these bogs is of a mineral kind.

[a] Placit: coram. Just: apud Northamp:—see also Peck's Hist. Stamford: p. 4. Lib. 11.

[b] Tac. Ann. Lib. 12. § 31.

The Castle.

The Castle stood at the eastern extremity of the town; and was originally built by Simon de St. Liz, the second Earl of Northampton, at the close of the eleventh, or beginning of the twelfth century.

It is first noticed by historians in reference to the fifteenth year of John, 1213; being then the possession of David, Earl of Huntington: who resolutely opposed an order of that King to resign it to the crown; but he was at last compelled to surrender it to the Sheriff. The castle and lordship had descended to him in the following manner:

The Conqueror granted this estate (in the time of the Confessor the freehold of Turchill) to his neice Judith[a], the wife of Waltheof, son of Earl Seward, a distinguished nobleman, by Elfleda, daughter of Earl Aldred. Waltheof was possessed of all the power which wealth and military prowess could bestow. These proved his ruin. He was tempted to conspire against the King[b]; and was condemned and executed at Winchester; leaving one daughter, Maud, to whom

[a] She was daughter of Lambert de Leus, by Maud, Duchess of Albemarle, maternal sister to William the Conqueror.

[b] He is said to have disclosed his conspiracy to his confessor, who gave information of it to the King. In consequence, the Earl was apprehended, beheaded at Winchester, and buried in the highway. His remains were removed soon after, to the chapter house at Croyland Abbey, to which he had been a benefactor, and there interred. Ingulphus imputes his death to his wife, who was inclined to a second

the King gave the greatest part of the estates possessed by her father. She first married Simon de St. Liz; and, after his decease, David, King of Scotland; to whose son Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, and grandsons Malcolm and William, Kings of Scotland, the castle and lordship successively descended. William conveyed it to his brother David, who was afterwards Earl of Huntingdon. Upon the death of David, which took place in 1219, they became the property of his son John le Scot, Earl of Huntingdon, who entrusted the castle to the custody of his uncle Ranulph, Earl of Chester. Whilst under his command, in the fifth year of Henry the third, 1220, it was surprised by William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle and Holderness, a factious Baron, who placed a garrison in it, and plundered the neighbouring country[a].

During the time of John le Scot, the castle was visited by Henry III. This we learn from a charter[b] granted by that King to Stephen de Segrave, dated the second of March, in the eighteenth year of his reign, 1232, at this place, and attested by Peter de

marriage. She refused Simon St Liz, a Norman Nobleman, who had been proposed by her uncle, because he was lame; and the King married him to her daughter Maud, who, on the death of St. Liz, became the wife of David, King of Scotland.

[a] "The nation began to hope for days of peace; but this could not be effected, so long as many troublesome members, who had no way of living but by war and confusion, remained in it. Many of the Nobles, who had sided with the King, being dissatisfied in their expectations, and having no estates to maintain their rank, began to mutiny, surprising castles, and making spoils in the country; one of whom was the Earl of Albemarle: but these were soon appeased."—Daniel's life and reign of Hen. III. Kennet's Collect. Vol. 1. p. 172

[b] The charter alluded to exempted Alconbury Wood, in Huntingdonshire, from Forest Laws.—Archæol. Vol. XV. p. 209.

Rupibus Bishop of Winchester, John le Scot himself, Hugh Despencer, John de Plesset, Ralph de Nevil Bishop of Chichester, and other persons.

John le Scot dying without offspring, the castle and lordship fell to his two neices[a]—Christian, the wife of William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle, and Dervorguilla, the wife of John de Balliol.

In the twenty-second year of Henry III., 1239, the Earl of Albemarle gave his right in the manor to Robert de Quincy, and Elena his wife, Countess of Chester and Huntingdon, and relict of John le Scot, until a sufficient dowry should be assigned her. But, in the twenty-ninth year of this reign, 1246, in consideration of the royal prerogatives belonging to the Earldom of Chester, the King took possession of this moiety of the estate, and granted to the Earl of Albemarle, in lieu of it, the lordship and advowson of Thingdon in the county of Northampton, and the manor of Dryfield in Yorkshire.

The other moiety of this lordship, which was in the hands of Dervorguilla de Balliol[b], after her decease, fell to John de Balliol her son[c]; and passing from him to the crown, it was granted to John de Britain, Earl of Richmond, nephew to Edward I.; to be held during the King's pleasure.

In the second year of Edward II., he obtained a grant of the castle to himself and the heirs of his

[a] Daughters of Alan, Earl of Galloway, by Margaret, elder sister of John le Scot.

[b] By inquisition, taken in the 18th of Edward I., she was found to have held it of the King of Scots, by the service of one soar-hawk for herself and co-parceners, of the honor of Huntingdon.—Esc. anno 18 Edw. I. n. 28.

[c] The unfortunate King of Scotland.

body; and in the ninth of the same reign he was certified to be lord of Fotheringhay. In the third of Edward III., he was required to shew, before the court of King's Bench, by what authority he claimed the liberty of free-warren in the lordships of Fotheringhay, Nassington and Yarwell, which were within the bounds of the King's forest: and in the same year he was also required to prove by what right he held the castle and manor, as parcel of the honor of Huntingdon, with all the privileges, immunities and exemptions, to himself and his tenants; holding of that honor a park, two deer leaps, a market on Wednesday, and a fair for three days, beginning on the eve of St. Michael, in the township of Fotheringhay, and view of frank pledge and waif in Nassington and Yarwell. For the enjoyment of all these privileges he pleaded the charter of Edward II., by which the premises were granted to him and his heirs, to hold in as free and ample manner as John de Balliol had held them, before they fell to the crown in Edward the first's reign; with a proviso, that the castle, manor, and appurtenances, in case John de Britain should die without lawful issue, should revert to the Crown[a].

The Earl of Richmond dying without issue, the castle and manor were granted by the crown to Mary de St. Paul, daughter of Guido de Chatillon, Comte de St. Paul in France, by Mary, daughter of John de Britain, Earl of Richmond. She was Baroness de Voissu and Montanai, and married to Audemare de Valentia, Earl of Pembroke, who fell in a tournament on the day of their nuptials; whence she is characterized by

[a] Bridges' Hist. of the county, Vol. 2. p. 450.

Gray, as the

"Sad Chatillon, on her bridal morn
That wept her bleeding love."

She spent the greatest part of her life in the exercise of religion; and employed her estate in founding Denny Abbey near Ely, and Pembroke Hall in the university of Cambridge, to which she gave the name of the College of Maria de Valentia.

Her residence at Fotheringhay is thus described: "The castle, with a certain tower, is built of stone, walled in, embattled, and encompassed with a good moat. Within are one large hall, two chambers, two chapels, a kitchen and bakehouse, built all of stone; with a porter's lodge and chambers over it, and a drawbridge beneath. Within the castle walls is another place, called the manor; in which are houses and offices, and an outer gate with a room over it. The site of the whole contains ten acres."

Upon the death of Mary of Valence [a], the castle and lordship reverted to the crown; and was granted by Edward III. to his fifth son, Edmund of Langley, then a minor. It now fell into decay: and on his taking actual possession, was so much dilapidated as to induce him to rebuild the greater part of it. He paid particular attention to the Keep; the ground plan of which was in the form of a fetterlock. The fetterlock inclosing a falcon was afterwards the favourite devise of his family. It once ornamented the windows of the castle, and remained in most of the windows of the church, till the year 1807.

[a] William de Bohun, fifth son of Humphrey, Earl of Essex and Hereford, and Humphrey his son, had a grant of money arising from this estate, to commence at the death of the countess of Pembroke; but they never enjoyed it, both having died before her.

At the death of Edmund, who had been successively created Earl of Cambridge and Duke of York, it descended to his son Edward, Earl of Rutland, who succeeded also to his Father's honours. But, on his falling in the battle of Agincourt[a], and dying without issue, the castle and lordship descended to his nephew Richard, the son of his brother Richard, Earl of Cambridge, who was beheaded in the third year of Henry V., having been engaged in a conspiracy against that King. It thus became the residence of the house of York; and was the birth-place of Richard III. Hence it has been thus described:

Lo! on that mound in days of feudal pride,
Thy tow'ring castle frown'd above the tide;
Flung wide her gates, where troops of vassals met
With awe the brow of high Plantagenet.

But ah! what chiefs in sable crests appear!
What bright atchievement marks yon warrior's bier!

[a] He left directions for his funeral; by which he ordered his body to be buried in the Church parochial of Fotheringhay, in the midst of the Choir, near the steps, under a flat marble. In compliance with this order, his body was brought over to England and carried to Westminster, his Exequies being solemnly performed by the Archbishops and most of the bishops, by the King's order, in the Cathedral of St. Paul. From Westminster it was brought to Fotheringhay, and on the 1st of December 1415 interred in the Choir. The direction he had given for his Tomb was carefully observed: which is described by Leland, who saw it, as "a flat marble stone; and upon it was his image flat in brass." He married Philippa, daughter and coheir of John Lord Mohun, of Dunster, who retained a third part of this estate as her dower, till her death, which took place in 1474.

'Tis York's:—from Agincourt's victorious plain,
They bear the fallen hero o'er the main;
Through all the land his blooming laurels spread,
And to thy bosom give the mighty dead.

When from thy lap the ruthless Richard sprung,
A boding sound through all thy borders rung,
It spoke a tale of blood—fair Neville's woe,
York's murd'rous hand, and Edward's future foe.

Antona's Banks, MS: 1797.

Richard, Duke of York, fell in the Battle of Wakefield. His body was first interred at Pontefract, but afterwards removed, with that of his Son Edmund, Earl of Rutland, in great pomp, to Fotheringhay. On the 22nd of July 1466, their remains were put into a chariot covered with black velvet, richly wrapped in cloth of gold and royal habit. At the feet of the Duke stood the figure of an angel clothed in white, and bearing a crown of gold, to signify that of right he was a King. The chariot was drawn by seven horses, trapped to the ground, and covered with black, charged with escutcheons of that Prince's arms. Every horse carried a man, and upon the foremost rode Sir John Skipwith, who bore the Duke's banner displayed. The Bishops and Abbots, in pontificalibus, went two or three miles before, to prepare the churches for the reception of the remains. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, followed next after the chariot, accompanied by several of the Nobility and Officers of arms. In this order they left Pontefract, and that night rested at Doncaster, where they were received by the Convent of Cordeliers, in grey habit. Thence by easy stages they proceeded

to Blithe, Tuxford in the Clay, Newark, Grantham, and Stamford; and on Monday, the 29th of July, the procession arrived at Fotheringhay, where the bodies were received by several Bishops and Abbots in pontificalibus, and supported by twelve servants of the deceased. At the entrance of the Churchyard King Edward IV., accompanied by several Dukes, Earls and Barons in mourning, was in attendance, who proceeded to the choir of the church, near the high altar, where there was a hearse covered with black, furnished with a great number of Banners, Bannerels, and Pensils. Under this they placed the remains of the Duke and his son Edmund. The Queen[a] and her two daughters were present also in mourning, attended by several ladies and other persons. Over the image was a cloth of majesty of black sarcenet, with the figure of our Lord sitting on a rainbow, of beaten gold, having in every corner an escutcheon of the arms of France and England quarterly, with a valence round the hearse also of black sarcenet fringed half-a-yard deep, and ornamented with three angels of beaten gold, holding the Duke's arms within a garter, in every part above the hearse. Upon the 30th of the same month several masses were said; and at the offertory of the mass of requiem, the King offered for the Prince his father; and the Queen, her two daughters, and the Duchess[b] of Richmond offered afterwards. Then Norroy King of Arms offered the Prince's coat of arms; March King of Arms the

[a] Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Woodville, and widow of Sir John Gray, Knt., who was killed at the battle of St. Albans.

[b] It is thus in Sandford, but the proper reading is "Countess."

target; Ireland King of Arms the sword; Windsor Herald of England and Ravendon, Herald of Scotland, offered the helmet; and Mr. de Ferrys the harness and courser[a].

Upon the death of Richard, Duke of York, his eldest son Edward, Earl of March, afterwards Edward the Fourth, succeeded, both in the honours of his house, and the possession of this castle and lordship; Cicely his mother, still retaining her right in it, until the ninth year of his reign; when Guy Woolston Esq. was appointed constable of the castle, and keeper of the great park, Erleswood, and Newhaugh, lying within the Bailiwick of Clyve in Rockingham forest; where the lord of the castle had housebote[b] and heybote[c], and two leets, held yearly at Easter and Michaelmas. From Leland's account, Fotheringhay appears to have been the favourite residence of this powerful and royal house: for the Duchess Cicely, who survived her husband thirty-six years, during the greatest part of her widowhood, inhabited the castle[d].

Here, in the twenty-second year of his reign, Edward IV. had an interview with Alexander, who styled himself King of Scotland; and received his

[a] Sandford's Geneal. Hist.

[b] An allowance of necessary timber out of the Lord's wood, for the repairing and support of a house or tenement.

[c] A liberty to take thorns and other wood, to make and repair hedges, gates, fences, &c.

[d] Cicely died in the 10th of Henry 7th, 1495, at an advanced age, in her Castle of Berkhamstead. She was buried by her husband in the choir at Fotheringhay, according to the directions of her will; by which she gave to the College "a square Canopy of crymson cloth of gold, a chesible, and two tunicles, and three copes of blue velvet bordered, with three albs, three mass books, three grails, and seven processioners." (Grail, a gradual or book, containing some of the offices

promise to do fealty and homage to him for the realm of Scotland[a], within six months after he should have possession of the crown. Covenants were accordingly ratified at this place by each party[b].

After the death of Edward IV. it continued in the crown; and by an act of parliament in the first of Henry VII., was declared to be part of the royal possession. Henry settled it upon his Queen, Elizabeth, the only representative of the house of York. Reverting to the King on her death, it continued in the crown till Henry VIII. gave it in dowry to Catherine of Arragon, who seems to have been attached to the castle. Leland records, that "she did great costs of refreshing it." He describes it as being at that time "a castle fair, and meatly strong, with very good lodgings in it, defended by double ditches, with a very ancient and strong Keep."

Such is the account of this castle before it was converted to a new and different purpose; and from the residence of a Prince, became a prison of the state. This seems to have taken place in the reign of Mary, soon after the 25th of May 1554. On that day, according to Stow, "Edward Courtney[c], Earl of

of the Romish Church.—Gradale, sic dictum, a gradalibus in tali libro contentis. Lyndewood, Provincial. Ang. lib. 3.—Processioners seem to mean banners.)

Cicely was also a benefactress to Queen's College Cambridge. She and Ann Duchess of Buckingham professed themselves religious in 1480 at Northampton. (Topog. Brit. No. 40. p. 14.)

[a] James the third was at that time King of Scotland, and it is probable that the person here mentioned was one of the family of Balliol.

[b] Bridges' Hist. Vol. 2. p. 449.

[c] He was the last of the Courtney's, Earls of Devonshire, and died at Padua. Misson in his travels gives his epitaph, which is copied by

Devonshire, was removed from the tower to which he had been committed, upon suspicion of his having consented to Sir Thomas Wyatt's conspiracy, by Master Chamberlayne of Suffolk, and Sir Thomas Tresham, Knt., and conveyed to this castle, to remain under their custody at the Queen's pleasure." His confinement here was of short duration, as, at Easter of the year following, 1555, he appeared again at court.

The next and last person who entered the castle as a prisoner, and from whose fate it is noted in English History, was the unfortunate QUEEN OF SCOTS; who was closely confined here, under the custody of Sir William Fitzwilliam, of Milton, during the last six months of her life[a]. It is from this circumstance particularly, that this place attracts the attention of the traveller, and excites in him a desire of knowing its former state. The beauty, accomplishments, and hard fortune of that extraordinary Princess, who was a captive eighteen years, have given such an interest to the place in which she suffered, that the stranger is apt to imagine he shall find something on the spot to gratify his curiosity.—He will regret that the ground on which it stood, with the surrounding moats, and small fragments of the walls near the river and on the

Lord Orford, in Walpoliana, Vol. I. p. 101.—An original picture of this Nobleman is in the Duke of Bedford's collection: he is there represented with a fair complexion and good person.

[a] Fuller the historian visited the Castle, and records that he read in one of the windows the following distich, written on the glass with a diamond, by the Queen of Scots:—

"From the top of all my trust
Mishap hath laid me in the dust."

which is taken from an Old Ballad, preserved in Ellis's Specimens.

east of the mount, are the only marks of this once strong and memorable castle.

During the rest of the reign of Elizabeth it is passed over without notice, and was probably uninhabited; but in the first year of James I., it was granted to Charles, Lord Mountjoy, created afterwards Earl of Devonshire, Sir Edward Blount Knt., and Joseph Earth Esq. Upon the death of the Earl[a], which took place four years after, the other two proprietors conveyed the castle and lordship to his natural son, Mountjoy, who was afterwards created Earl of Newport.

On the third of April, 1625, the last year of the reign of King James, the castle was surveyed, and is thus described: "the castle is very strong, built of stone, and moated about with a double moat. The river Nen on the south side serves for the outer moat, and the mill-brook on the east side between the little park and the castle yard, called the old orchard or garden, serves for the outer moat on that side[b]; between which mill-brook and the castle there has been a great pond, landed up, on the east side of the castle. The gate and forepart of the house fronts the north, and as soon as you are past the drawbridge; at the gate there is a pair of stairs, leading up to some fair lodgings, and up higher to the wardrobe, and so on to

[a] Having no legitimate issue, Sir Henry Baker Knt. descended from a Sister of William, Lord Mountjoy, his grandfather, was his heir at law, but had no part of Fotheringhay Estate. The other two proprietors conveyed it as above stated.

[b] The outer moat on the north side, before the earth was thrown into it in 1820, was 75 feet across; and the inner moat at the foot of the mount 66 feet.

the fetterlock on the top of the mount, on the north-west corner of the castle; which is built round of eight or sixteen square, (octagonal) with chambers lower and upper ones round about, but somewhat decayed, and so are the leads on the top; in the very midst of the round yard in the same there has been a well, now landed up. When you come down again, and go towards the hall, which is wonderful spacious, there is a goodly and fair court, within the midst of the castle. On the left hand is the chapel, goodly lodgings, the great dining room, and a large room at this present well garnished with pictures. Near the hall is the buttery and kitchen; and at the other end of the kitchen a yard, convenient for wood and such purposes, with large brewhouses and bakehouses, and houses convenient for offices. From the gate going out of that yard, there is another yard half-encompassing the castle, going round-about to the first gate, and a great barn in the west side of the said yard. A gate-house and another ruinous house in the east corner of the same." The great barn and part adjoining are now tenanted by a farmer. On the east side, of what is at present the dwelling house, is a gothic door-way, the only fragment of original architecture on the premises.

Soon after this survey the castle seems to have been consigned to ruin, for Sir Robert Cotton, who lived at that time, purchased the hall in which the Queen of Scots was beheaded, and removed it to Connington in Huntingdonshire. Mr. Gough, in his edition of Camden, supposes that Sir Robert Cotton purchased only the interior of the room—the wainscot, &c., and

not the room itself. The writer of these notices differs in opinion from that learned antiquary, and thinks that the arches and columns in the lower part of Connington Castle, are those which divided the hall at Fotheringhay into three aisles; an arrangement adopted in many of the castle halls of large dimensions. Such is the case in the ancient hall of Oakham castle, and such was undoubtedly the form of the Bishop's Hall, at Lincoln. But whether so or not in the present instance, the sale of any part of it marks the time when the castle was first dismantled. The stone of other parts was purchased by Robert Kirkham Esq., in order to build a chapel in his house at Fineshade, in this neighbourhood; and the last remains of it were destroyed in the middle of the eighteenth century, for the purpose of repairing the navigation of the Nen[a]. Thus removed by degrees it escaped the notice of the antiquary, who probably had recorded its destruction, had it been less gradual. The tale of its having been destroyed by order of James, on account of its having been the scene of his Mother's suffering is clearly disproved; and must be left to those only who are fond of seeing

[a] The Navigation of the River Nen was opened on the eleventh of September 1728. The Tenant of the river paying rent for the haling-way. This appears from a memorandum left by the Vicar of Fotheringhay to his Successors. Out of the sixteen acres of meadow, belonging to him in the Town meadow, the part amounting to 144 yards in length, and 4 feet in breadth taken for the haling-way, paid annually elevenpence, three farthings. The rent of a shilling a year was paid to Mr. Dobinson, the Vicar in 1755, and the same in 1778. The Navigation of this river, as far as this place had been in contemplation so long ago as the reign of Edward the Fourth. It appears to have been projected by that King himself; and might possibly have suggested itself to his mind, when he came hither by water from Croyland, in 1469, to join his Queen, who was then at Fotheringhay Castle.

events clothed in the language of fiction. To such we may still say,

In darkest night for ever veil the scene,
When thy cold walls received the captive Queen:
For this hath time eras'd thee from his page,
And filial justice with vindictive rage,
Burst on thy princely tow'rs with whelming tide,
Nor left one vestige to relate thy pride.

Few are the flow'rs that wave upon that mound;
No herb salubrious yields the blighted ground;
Beside the thorn the barren thistle springs;
The raven there his pilfer'd carrion brings
To glut in secret; or, impressed with fear,
Croaks his hoarse song to desolation's ear.

Antonia's Banks, 1797.

From the Earl of Newport the castle and lordship passed by purchase, to Sir George Savile of Thornhill, Bart., afterwards created Marquis of Halifax. His son and successor William, the second Marquis, dying without issue male, in 1700, the manor and estate were sold by his Father in law, Daniel, Earl of Nottingham, and the other trustees of Ann, Lady Bruce; Dorothy, Countess of Burlington; and Mary, Countess of Thanet, the Marquis' co-heiress, to Hewer Edgeley Hewer Esq. who died without issue, Nov. 6th 1728; when it descended to the family of Blackburn, and other proprietors. After passing from them through several hands, it was purchased by Messrs. Belsey of Margate; and is now the property of Thomas Belsey Esq., the survivor of the two purchasers.

In the month of June 1820, the earth on the eastern side of the mount, on which the Keep stood, was removed for the purpose of procuring stone; when the workmen laid open part of the castle, which had been buried by the fall of the earth from the top of the mount. The remains are small, and of no architectural interest. They consist of the back of a chimney, and the entrances to two closets, which were in the ground-floor of the western side of the castle court; and from their situation it is probable they belonged to an apartment occupied by the domestics. Part of the pavement was remaining, formed of Norman bricks. About the same time the earth on the outside of the fortification, was thrown into the moat; and three coins were found, one of them foreign, of base metal; another, a groat of Edward II.; and the third a shilling of Edward IV., now in the writer's possession.

THE NUNNERY, VICARAGE, COLLEGE, CHURCH, AND HERMITAGE.

HISTORIANS mention a Nunnery at this place, supposed to have been founded by Simon de St. Liz, the second Earl of Northampton, on the spot, where, in after time, the College was erected. Having completed his foundation at De la Pre, near Northampton, he removed the Nuns to that place. With the Society he transferred also the profits of the Church; leaving it with a Vicarial Endowment only, and giving the patronage of it to the Abbess and Convent[a]. The value of the Vicarage in 1254, 38 Hen. III., was estimated at fifteen marks. The incumbents were as follows:

Patrons.	*Incumbents, and time of their institution.*
Abbess and Convent of De la Pre, near Northampton.	David[b].
	Will. de Castro Barnardi, Cap. 3 Id. Maii, 1267.
	John de Cotes, Presb. 19 Kal. Sept. 1274.
	Robert de Islip[c], Cler. 3 Id. Feb. 1301.
	Will. fil. Alan de Thingdon, Cap. 12 Kal. Jan. 1306.
	Simon de Fotheringeye, Cap. 8 Kal. Feb. 1312.

[a] Bridges' Hist. of Northamp: Vol. 1. p. 364.—MS. Cott: Nero. D. 10.

[b] Register of Richard Graveseend, Bishop of Lincoln.

[c] Reg. John D'Alderby. Bp. Linc.

Patrons.	*Incumbents, and time of their institution.*
Abbess and Convent of De la Pre, near Northampton.	John Dayfol[a].
	Henry de Ryseley, Cler. 18 Kal. Maii, 1328.
	Dom. Gilbert de Aylling-ton, Cler. prid. Id. Aug. 1330.
	John de Staunford, Presb. Kal. Oct. 1336.
	Roger de Rishedon[b], Pres. 7 Id. Dec. 1346.
	Robert Pecke de Fodryngey[c], Presb. 8 Id. Jul. 1349.
	John de Armyston, Cler. 2 Kal. Aug. 1355.
	Simon Goodbody de Wadenhowe, Presb. 12 Kal. Octob. 1359.
	Henry Basset[d], Presb. non. Dec. 1363.
	John Rest de Makesey, Presb. 8 Kal. Aug. 1367.
	Robert Sutton, Presb. 12 Dec. 1368.
	Philip de Depyng, Presb. 12 Sept. 1369.
	John Aboveton de Wadenhoe, Cler. ult. Aug. 1388.

[a] Reg. Henry Burghersh, Bp. Linc.
[b] Reg. Thomas Beke, Bp. Linc.
[c] Reg. John Gynewell, Bp. Linc.
[d] Reg. John Buckingham, Bp. Linc.

This appears to have been the last Incumbent, before the Vicarage[a] was united to the Mastership of the College.

The College.

THE COLLEGE was projected by Edmund of Langley, fifth son of Edward III.; carried on by his son Edward, Duke of York; still further advanced by Richard, Duke of York; and completed by King Edward IV.

It is probable, that the first of these erected the choir, but had not endowed the college before his death.

In the thirteenth year of Henry IV. 1412, his son Edward, Duke of York, obtained a charter for that purpose. Six acres of land, below the precinct of the Duke, between the castle and the vicarage house, were allotted for the site of the building. The King settled upon it the alien Priory of Newent, in the counties of Gloucester and Hereford, a cell to the abbey of Corneilles; and the priory of Anebury in Wiltshire, a cell to the abbey of St. George de Baukerville, in Normandy[b]. For which priories there was a saving clause in the act afterwards passed at Leicester, in the second of Henry V.[c] At the same time, the vicarage was taken from the convent of De

[a] For the re-establishment of the vicarage, see the conclusion of the History of the College.

[b] Pat. 13 Hen. 4. p. 1. m. 14.—Topog. Brit. No. 40. p. 82.

[c] Bridges' Hist. Vol. 2. p. 456.

la Pre, and annexed to the mastership[a]. Thus the college was founded and endowed, and a society placed in it; consisting of a Master, eight Clerks, and thirteen Choristers[b]; who had a common seal[c]. It was denominated the college of the blessed Virgin and all Saints of Fotheringhay.

The Duke of York, finding the endowment insufficient, and wishing to rebuild the nave of the church upon the same plan as the choir, "which was

[a] Though the Church became collegiate on the erection of the College, it did not cease to be parochial. Churchwardens were regularly appointed, who used to account, in conjunction with the master for the expences both of the fabrick and service. This appears from many items in the ancient MS. in the writers possession; in which also the master is shewn to have voted with the parishioners in the election of those officers.

[b] These were to pray for the souls of the King, and his Queen Joanna, Henry Prince of Wales, and the other members of the Royal Family; for Edward, Duke of York, now considered the founder, and Philippa his Duchess, during their lives and after their deaths; for the souls of John, King of Castile and Leon and Duke of Lancaster, his Duchess Blanch, King Henry's Mother; and Mary his late wife; and for the souls of Edmund, Duke of York, and Isabel his Duchess. (Chapter. Pat. 13. Hen. 4. p. 1. m. 14.)

[c] An impression of the seal is preserved in the Chapter-House, at Westminster. It is oval, about three inches in length, and an inch and three-quarters in width. In the lower part is the armorial bearing of Edward Plantagenet Duke of York, viz. France and England quarterly, with a label of three points, between two sprigs. Above these are two handsome gothic niches with canopies, ornamented by small pinnacles. Under the dexter Canopy, is the figure of an Angel, in an attitude of reverence, inclining towards another figure under the canopy on the sinister side, which represents a female with her hand uplifted. Between the niches is a flower pot, from which issues a lily, bearing across the stem two Scrolls. On the upper Scroll three letters, which seem to be *ave*; and on the lower *mre*. The verge of the impression is much obscured. But these words, in old English Characters, may be distinctly traced.—SIGILLU—COMME COLLEGII BE - - - - - - - - - - OMNI SCOR - - - - - DE FODRYNGHEY.

The inscription when perfect was probably

SIGILLU COMME COLLEGII BEATÆ MARIÆ ET OMNIUM SANCTORUM DE FODRYNGHEY.

large and magnificent," in the third of Henry V. 1415, obtained the royal licence for the more ample endowment of this foundation. For this purpose the King, by patent, entailed upon him and his heirs, large possessions in the counties of Wilts, Gloucester, Hertford, Northampton, Lincoln and York[a], to be held of the King in capite. The death of Edward, Duke of York, at Agincourt, before the expiration of the year, put a stop to the progress of the foundation But his successor Richard, Duke of York, in 1432, obtained an annual pension of five pounds to be expended in bringing it to perfection. In the eighteenth of Henry VI., a grant was made, enabling the society to assort and inclose twenty acres in Shortwood, near Southwick, in the Bailiwick of King's Clive, within the forest of Rockingham; and in the twenty-fifth[b] of the same reign, an additional grant was given of wood in Rockingham Forest. On the accession of Edward IV. to the throne, his attention was immediately directed to this college[c]. He gave it a new charter, three hundred acres of land, and various privileges and liberties. In the next year he granted four acres of land, with a kiln for burning lime, in

[a] Dugd. Mon: Ang. Vol. 2. p. 162. These were Fastern, Old Wotton, Tubenham and the Advowson, Chelworth, Winterborn, Compton Basset, Sevenhampton, the Town of Wotton Burgh, the Hundred of Heiworth and Cricklade, all in Wiltshire; Dogley in Gloucestershire; Ansty and the Advowson in Herts; Nassington, Yarwel, and Fotheringhay Castle and manor in Northamptonshire. Stamford Town and Manor; and Grantham Town and Soke in Lincolnshire; Conisburg Castle and Manor, Bramwell, Clifton, Hatfield, Fishlake and Thorne in the county of York.

[b] Pat. 25. Hen. 6. p. 2. m. 14.

[c] Cart. 1. Ed. 4. p. 2. m. 7.

the lordship of Wood Newton[a]. Soon after, he gave the manor of Beckeford in Worcestershire, with many other lands in several counties[b]: and in his sixth year, he added to these donations, eighty-six acres of land in the forest of Rockingham[c].

In addition to the benefactions already mentioned, the college had estates in Oundle, Ashton, Sutton, and Woodcroft, with all the messuages and lands in Chesterton in Huntingdonshire, in Easton and Fotheringhay, which were held of Fotheringhay manor, by the gift of Henry Frowyk[d], in the eighteenth of Henry VII.; and which were afterwards confirmed to it in the twenty-fourth of the same reign. In the twenty-sixth of Henry VIII., the society had possessions at Colterswerth in Lincolnshire; and in the first of the succeeding reign they obtained the manor[e].

In the twenty-sixth of Henry VIII.[f] besides their estates in Northamptonshire, at Fotheringhay, Easton, Glapthorn, Brigstock, Sibbeston, Oundle, Wood

[a] Pat. 2. Ed. 4. p. 1. m. 8.
[b] Pat. 6. Ed. 4. p. 2. m. 14.
[c] Pat. 6. Ed. 4. p. 2. m. 14.
[d] Pat. 24 Hen. 7. p. 3.

[e] Orig. p. 1. 1. Ed. 6. Bridges' Hist. Vol. 2. p. 457. note.—This parish has since been noted as the birth-place of Newton, whose father resided at Woolsthorpe, a Hamlet within its precincts, and whose baptism is here registered in 1642. After the dissolution of the College it fell into the hands of William, Marquis of Northampton, upon whose attainder Queen Elizabeth demised the Manor to Henry Best and John Wells, who in the same year conveyed it to William Cecil Lord Burleigh. (Claus Rolls.) In 1642 this manor belonged to the family of Elston, which carried it by marriage to that of Storey of Nottingham, of whose Trustees it was purchased by Edmund Turnor Esq. of Stoke Rochford in 1819. (Hist of Grantham. 4to. p. 156.)

[f] Survey taken 1535. Rot. in off. Primit: n. 6.

Newton, Woodcroft, Helpston and Sutton, with the appropriated rectory of Fotheringhay, the college had possessions in Holborn in London; at Coltersworth, Spitalgate, Alyngton, Somerby, and Burton in Lincolnshire; at Newent and its members, with the Rectories of Newent, Dymok, and Pauntley, and pensions from other churches in Gloucestershire; at Anbury, Barbury, Winterborne, and Charlton in Wiltshire; at Bekford with the parsonages of Bekford, Ashton and Grafton in Worcestershire, and at Bysbroke, in Rutlandshire; with other rents and emoluments in the counties of Huntingdon, Worcester, Gloucester and Southampton; the whole amount of which was then estimated at the annual value of four hundred and eighty-nine pounds, fifteen shillings, and ninepence. Out of this was deducted eighty pounds, three shillings, and tenpence, in rents resolute to the lords of different manors; in fees to stewards, bailiffs and other officers; and in pensions, procurations, and salaries to stipendiary chaplains. The clear yearly income for the stipends and maintenance of the members of the college and other incidental charges, was therefore four hundred and nine pounds, eleven shillings, and elevenpence.

The Church.

Edmund of Langley, the original projector of a College at Fotheringhay, began to fulfil his intentions by erecting a "large and magnificent choir," at the east end of the old parish church. And after his death, his son Edward, Duke of York, wishing to rebuild the nave of the old Church[a] upon the same plan as the Choir, appointed the following Trustees to carry his intentions into execution; namely, Henry Beaufort, Cardinal, Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Langley, Cardinal, Bishop of Durham, Sir Walter Hungerford, Roger Flore of Oakham, Peter de Mavan of Gascony, John Laurens, John Russel of Hertfordshire, Henry Bracy of Fotheringhay, and John Wykes.

The death of the Duke of York at Agincourt, put a stop to further proceedings; but the present church is a monument of the care with which the trust was afterwards fulfilled. The Duke did not live to see even the foundation of the building laid. The plan was carried into execution by his Nephew and Successor Richard, Duke of York, through William Woolston Esq. and Thomas Pecham, Clerk, his Commissioners, who signed a deed of agreement with "William Horwood, a free mason of Fotheringhay," on the twenty-fourth day of September, in the thirteenth year of

[a] Upon the east wall within, a line may still be traced, which marks the height of the ancient parish church. Above this is a window, now built up, which overlooked the leads of the former nave, and gave light to the choir.

Henry the Sixth, 1435. It is more than probable that the Buildings were not completed till the time of Edward the Fourth; who erected the Cloister: which, for its superior elegance, was styled "the fair Cloister[a]" The windows of this were enriched with painted glass; and the subjects represented in them were taken from the Eclogue of Theodulus, De Miraculis Veteris Testamenti et de Fabulis a Poetis inventis. The Eclogue begins thus:

> Æthiopum terras jam fervida torruit Æstas,
> In cancro solis dum volvitur aureus axis, &c.

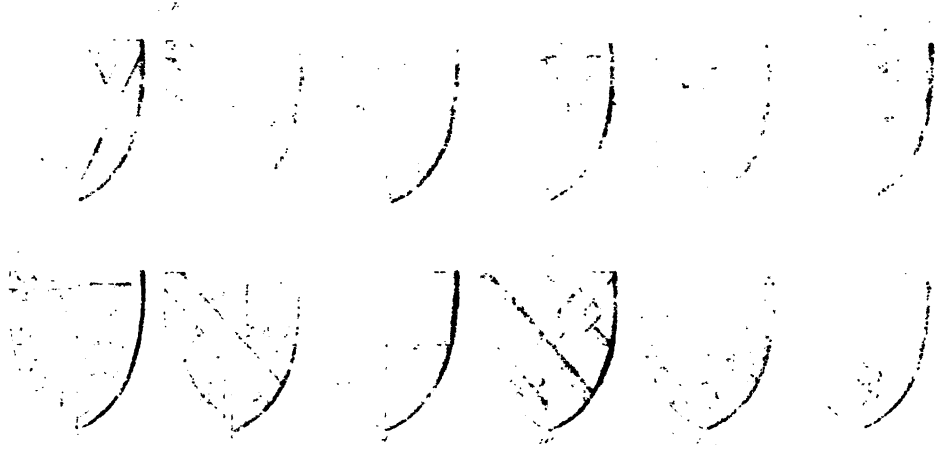
Hence Leland calls the book itself "Æthiopum Terras;" and adds, that the painted windows were put up in the time of Edward the Fourth; during the mastership of Felde; which is inaccurate, as Felde does not occur as Master till 1495, the eleventh of Henry the Seventh[b].

In the year 1486 King Edward the Fourth erected on the north side of the High Altar, over the graves of his Father, Richard, Duke of York, and his Brother, Edmund, Earl of Rutland, a handsome Shrine; which Leland describes as "a pratie chapelle," and Camden, as "a magnificent monument[c]."

[a] Leland Itin. Vol. 1. fol. 4, 5.

[b] Bridges' Hist. Vol. 2. 457.—Warton, in his Hist. of Poetry, 2. 167, following Leland, has fallen into the same error. Theodulus wrote in the Tenth Century, "A Dialogue between Truth and Falsehood," printed among the Octo Morales; and by Goldastus Man. Bibl: 1620 8vo. and by Wynkyn de Worde "Theduli liber," 1515, 4to.—Warton's Hist. of Poetry, 2. 167.

[c] See Rymer Fœdera 12. p. 28. which contains the order for building this Shrine, addressed to Thomas Martyn, and dated Wesminster, 17th of June. Pat. 16th Edward 4th, p. 1. m. 17. See also Camd: Vol. 1. Col. 521. Edit. 1753.



[illegible]

The destruction of the Choir and College may be dated from the last year of Edward the Sixth; when they were granted to Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. The progress of their ruin was more gradual than has been represented; for part of the Choir[a] was standing in the reign of Elizabeth, and the glass was in the windows of the Cloister and College Hall, when Dugdale visited the spot in 1641. The following is an account of the shields of arms that were then remaining:

IN A WINDOW OF THE HALL.

France and England, with a label of three points, charged with nine torteaux, impaling gules, a Saltire argent. France and England, with a label of three points argent, impaling or, a cross engrailed sable, France and England.

IN THE WINDOWS OF THE CLOISTER.

First window on the west side.—Gules, a saltire argent, with a label of three points or, impaling gules, three lions passant guardant or, within a border argent. France and England, with a label of three points argent, charged with nine torteaux gules, impaling quarterly, first and fourth, barry of six or and azure, on a chief of the first three pallets between two Esquires bast, dexter and sinister of the second, an escutcheon argent. Second and third gules, a cross or.

In the second window, west.—A blank, impaling quarterly, first and fourth gules, a lion rampant or, second and third checky or and azure. France and England, with a label of three points, impaling gules, three lions passant guardant or, within a border

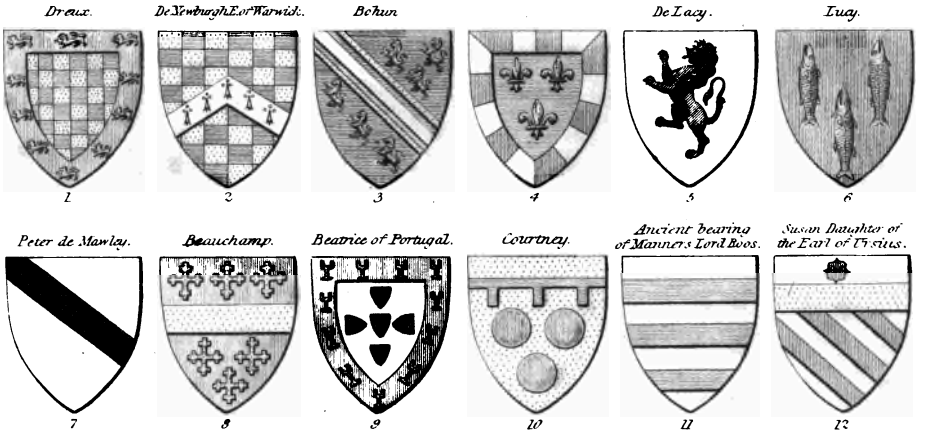
[a] Ancient MS. in the Writer's possession.

argent. Quarterly first and fourth France, second and third or, an escarboucle pommette et accolle, baton dexter compony argent and gules.

In the third window, west.—Quarterly, first and fourth Gules, on the first a mullet argent, second and third or. Quarterly, first and fourth argent, second and third gules, a fret or. Quarterly, first and fourth gules, a fesse or, between six cross croslets of the same; second and third checky or and azure, a chevron ermine; all these impaling first and fourth or, three chevronels gules, second and third, Despencer. France.

In the fourth window, west.—A shield of six: first argent, a lion rampant gules crowned or, second quarterly, first and fourth gules, a star of eight points argent, second and third azure, two fleur de lis between four demifleur de lis, three and three or; third, barry of ten argent and azure, a lion rampant guardant gules; fourth, bendy gules and argent, a chief, party per fesse, argent and or, on the first a rose gules; fifth gules, three pallets varry azure and argent, on a chief gules, a label of five points or; sixth argent, a fesse and canton gules. Quarterly, France and England, with a label of three points argent, charged with as many cantons gules. Quarterly, France and England, with a label of three points argent, charged with as many cantons ermine.

In the first window on the south.—Quarterly, France and England, within a border compony azure and argent. Quarterly, France and England within a border argent. Quarterly, France and England within a border argent, charged with nine lions vermilion. Sable, three feathers labeled argent.



Shields formerly in the Cloisters at Fotheringhay.

1.2.3. in the third window on the South side. 4.5.6. in the fourth window. 7.8.9.10. in the fifth window. 11.12. in the sixth window.

In the second window, south.—Gules, a lion rampant argent. Gules, a lion rampant or. Or, a lion rampant azure. Azure, three garbs or.

In the third window, south.—Checky, or and azure, within a border gules, charged with ten lions or. Checky or and azure, a chevron ermine. Azure a bend argent, between two cottizes and six lions rampant or.

In the fourth window, south.—France, within a border compony gules and argent. Argent, a lion rampant purpure langued &c. azure. Gules three luces haurient argent.

In the fifth window, south.—Argent, a bend dexter sable. Gules a fesse, between six cross croslets or. Argent, five shields sable charged each with five seeds argent, within a border gules, charged with eleven castles or. Or, three hurts gules, two and one, with a label of three points azure.

In the sixth window, south.—Barry of six, argent and azure. Bendy of seven, argent and gules, a chief, party per fesse argent and or, on the first a rose gules. Argent, a maunch sable.

In the second window, on the east side.—Argent, a cross gules. Azure, a cross fleury between four martlets or. Azure, three ducal coronets or.

In the third window, east.—Quarterly, France and England. Quarterly, France and England, with a label of three points, charged with nine torteaux. Barry of six, or and azure, on a chief of the first three pallets between two esquires bast, dexter and sinister of the second, an escutcheon argent. Gules, a cross or.

In the fourth window, east.—Gules, three lions passant guardant or, within a border argent. Azure, three barnacles or, on a chief ermine, a demi-lion rampant gules.

In the fifth window, east.—Checky, or and azure.

IN THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH.

In the east window.—Quarterly, first and fourth gules, a lion rampant or; second and third checky or and azure. Quarterly, France and England, within a border compony argent and azure, impaling gules, a saltire argent. Gules, a lion rampant argent, impaling quarterly, first and fourth gules, a lion rampant or; second and third checky, or and azure. France and England, impaling gules three lions rampant or, with a label of three points argent, within a border compony argent and azure.

In the north window.—Quarterly, France and England, impaling quarterly, first gules, three fleur de lis or, between two flanches ermine, each charged in fesse with a torteau; second gules, three lions courant or; third gules, a bend dexter argent, charged with an escutcheon or, between six croslets fitchy argent; fourth azure, two lions passant or, between four demi-fleur de lis. France and England quarterly, with a label of three points argent.

In a south window near the altar.—France and England quarterly, with a label of three points argent, within a border charged with five lions, impaling checky, or and azure a fesse gules. Quarterly, first and fourth gules, a lion rampant or; second and third checky, or and azure, impaling argent, five escutcheons sable, each charged with five seeds or, within a border gules; charged with five castles or.

The windows of the nave and side aisles were also painted; and contained figures of saints, cardinals, and prelates. Above these were angels, playing on

various musical instruments; the Bohemian plume; and the falcon inclosed by a fetterlock[a]. The last was a favourite device of the House of York. Whilst that powerful family was contending for the crown, the falcon was represented, as endeavouring to expand its wings, and force open the lock. When it had actually ascended the throne, the falcon was represented as free, and the lock open. The western windows were ornamented with the rose, the white hart, the fetterlock, and the lion. "The whole," says Stukeley[b], "were saved during the civil war, by the minister of the parish, who bribed the soldiers to preserve them." Many of these figures were perfect in the year 1787; namely, those of St. George, St. Dennis, and St. Blaze. Of those which were mutilated, the most conspicuous were Richard Scrope, of York, St. Ambrose, St. Agatha, St. Clement, St. Guthlake, and St. John Baptist. In the whole, there were fifteen; of which an engraving is given in Bridges' History of Northamptonshire. At present, not a window retains a specimen of its former beauty.

On a board in the south aisle is the following inscription[c]:—

In festi Martyrii processu Martiniani,
Ecclesiæ prima fuit hujus petra locata;
Anno christi primo centum quatuor ac mille
Cum deca quinta Henrici quinti tunc imminente secundo.

[a] A specimen of this and of two angels playing on musical instruments are preserved in the minister's house.

[b] Itin. Curios. p. 33.

[c] Dugdale's transcript of it is as follows:—which (barbarous as it is) probably presents to the reader what that antiquary found inscribed

This inscription is of little value. It may indeed record accurately the time at which the foundation-stone was laid, but certainly, not the date at which the present structure was raised. That is known from a much more authentic document; namely, the agreement between the commissioners and William Horwood, dated 24th Sept., 18th of Henry the Sixth, 1434.

The remains of the Collegiate Church exhibit an admirable specimen of the architecture of the fifteenth century. A Tower of two stories, rises above the west end of the nave. The lower story is square, and is finished with a plain parapet, ornamented at the angles with octagonal embattled Turrets. Upon these were originally placed figures, that were probably the symbols of the four Evangelists; no uncommon ornament on the Towers of Churches. Two of these remain, and seem to represent an angel and a lion, the symbols of St. Matthew and St. Mark. The sides of this part of the Tower are pierced with three small and four larger windows, under obtuse angled arches, and are divided by plain tracery. The upper story is octagonal, embattled, and adorned at the angles with crotcheted pinnacles. In each of its sides is a lofty window of three lights, elegant tracery, and of more easy curvature than that of the windows in the tower below.

on the wall. How he took it for versification we are at a loss indeed to discover.

> "Super parietem prope Ostium ejusdem Ecclesiæ
> hæc Carmina inscribuntur.
> In festo Martyrii processu Martiniani Ecclesi
> prima fuit hujus Petri locata A° Xpi C
> quater ac M cum deca quinto
> Henrici quinti tunc imminent secundo."

The clere story of the church is strengthened by ten segments of arches, which spring from the top of the buttresses of the aisles: some of these are fallen into decay and gone. The buttresses are finished with a pinnacle; and between each, is a window of four lights, and handsome tracery. Both the aisles and the clere story are embattled.

At the west end of the church, beneath the tower, is a spacious entrance, under an arch, within a square moulding, ornamented at the angles by an escutcheon, in the centre of a quarter foil. Above this is a window of large dimension, divided into fourteen lights, and finished with elegant tracery. There is also a window at the end of the aisles, which projects westward, so as to be nearly even with the wall of the tower. The entrance under the tower is flanked by two bold and lofty buttresses.

In the interior, beneath the tower, on the north-western corbel, from which the spandrils of the ceiling rise, is an inscription in old character; which, it is conjectured, is to be read thus: A°ⁿ D°ⁿ 14ᶜ5VII; that is, Anno Domini 1457.

The inscription is as follows—

The peal consists of four bells. Another bell has lately been placed in the chamber over the north

* Except the window towards the east, in the north aisle, which has only three lights.

porch, to give notice to the persons in the tower chamber, when the minister is entering the church. Round the first bell is the following inscription, "*Thomas Norris made me* 1634." Round the second, "*Domini laudem* 1614, *non verbo sed voce resonabo.*" Round the third, "*A. M. R. B. W. W. l.* 4. 1609." Round the fourth, "*W. W.* 1595. *Praise God. H. B.*"

The entrance, most in use, is under a large porch, of plain architecture, on the north side of the church. This is divided into three apartments: one leading into the church; and another to a staircase, by which you ascend to a third, or upper chamber. The room below was well placed for the Chorister's Vestry; and the chamber above for the bed-room, &c. of the Sacrist, or other officer of the church, whose business it was to regulate the tolling of bells, and to keep watch over the vestments, shrines, &c.; for which purpose there was a window in this apartment, looking into the church, and ready access to the steeple: a similar porch stood on the south side, adjoining the south-eastern end of the aisle. This was the entrance from the college, that covered the eminence on the south of the churchyard. The wall, which at present bounds the churchyard in that quarter, was the north side of the cloister. This porch was conveniently placed for entering the choir, and seems to have had a vestry on the east side of it, with a window looking in that direction, and another looking into the nave. On the western side was a door into the churchyard. Above this, was a chamber, used, probably, for keeping the plate and evidences.

Warton, in his History of Poetry, notices this Structure; and commends it, as a specimen of bold and perfect style. He classes it with the divinity school at Oxford, and the chapel of King's College, Cambridge. To the latter of these the groining and spandrils, beneath the tower, have a strong resemblance. This part of the interior, when seen from the communion rails, merits particular attention. Thence the nave, flanked by four arches, of simple but elegant construction, which divide it from the aisles, and terminated by a lofty arch and Font beneath, presents a view of the edifice, as it existed in the time of its royal and munificent benefactor.

The length of the church from west to east is eighty-seven feet, including the walls, and the width sixty-eight feet, The height from the floor to the crown of the dome under the tower, which corresponds with the height of the nave, is forty-one feet; of the tower from the floor to the roof of the octagon one hundred and three feet four inches; and of the aisles twenty-seven feet to the top of the battlement. The height of the windows in the side aisles is seventeen feet; and of the arches that separate the nave from the aisles eighteen feet nine inches. The west door sixteen feet and three inches in width; and the great western window twenty feet. The north porch is twenty-four feet wide, including the walls. The distance from the door, formerly leading from the church to the cloister door, twenty feet and a half. The width of the porch and vestry between the church and cloister twenty feet and a half. The buttresses are three feet five inches and a half in their projection, and one foot

and a half in thickness, except the north-eastern and south-eastern buttresses, which formerly belonged to the choir; and they are two feet two inches in thickness, but are of the same projection as the rest.

The register commences in 1557.

When Queen Elizabeth came to Fotheringhay in one of her progresses, she observed the graves of her ancestors, the Dukes of York, neglected amongst the ruins of the choir. She therefore ordered that their bodies should be removed into the present church, and deposited on each side the communion table[a]; giving directions, at the same time, to her treasurer, that monuments should be erected to their memory. These monuments are a specimen of the bad taste of that age; they are composed of fluted corinthian columns, supporting a frieze and cornice, ornamented with the falcon and fetterlock; a border of scroll-work, bearing grotesque heads and interlaced with fruit and flowers, surrounds an escutcheon on a tablet surmounted by a ducal coronet. That on the south side bears France and England quarterly, with a label of five points, for Edward, Duke of York, the founder, who was killed at Agincourt; on the cornice beneath was formerly this inscription:—"Edwardus Dux Eboraci occisus erat anno tertio regni Henrici Quinti, anno domini, 1415."

[a] On opening the graves, the bodies were found inclosed in lead. And round the neck of Cicely was a silver ribbon,* with a pardon from Rome, written in a fine Roman hand, "as fair and fresh," says Fuller, "as if it had been written yesterday."

* Mr. Creuso, who inhabited the College at the same time, gave this account to Henry Peacham. (See Peacham's Complete Gentleman. p. 169.)

On the monument on the north side, which is the counterpart of the other, is France and England quarterly, with a label of five points, impaling a saltire, surmounted by a ducal coronet, for Richard, Duke of York, who was killed at Wakefield, and his Duchess, Cicely, daughter of Ralph Neville first Earl of Westmorland. On the cornice above the base, were originally these words. "Richardus Dux Eboraci obiit mense Januarii anno 27° regni Henrici Sexti, anno Dī 1460. Cicilia Uxor Richardi Ducis Eboraci obiit anno 10mo regii Henrici Septimi, anno domini 1495." It is remarkable, that this monument should not also have borne an inscription to the memory of Edmund, Earl of Rutland, killed by Clifford, whose remains were interred in the same grave with those of his father.

Over each of these monuments is a wooden Tablet. That on the south is thus inscribed:—"Edward, Duke of York, was slain at the battle of Agincourt in the 3rd year of Henry the 5th, 1415." And on the northern Tablet is—"Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, Nephew to Edward, Duke of York, and father to King Edward the 4th, was slain at Wakefield, in the 37th year of Henry the 6th, 1459; and lies buried here with Cicely his wife.

Cicely, Duchess of York, was daughter to Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmorland."

Beneath a lofty arch at the west end of the nave is the Font. The basin is octagonal, adorned with foliage and grotesque heads, within gothic compartments; supported on a short octagonal pillar of similar architecture, and elevated upon two steps. On the west

side of it is a stone pedestal, designed for the station of the priest when he performed the office of baptism. Baptisteries are seldom found so commodiously arranged as this is to give the congregation a complete view of the ceremony. And at the great festivals, when a full congregation is in the nave, the Sponsors are kneeling on the steps around, and the Minister elevated in his proper place, the ability of the architect's design is the more visible and impressing.

The area of the church is fitted up with long pews of neat wainscot, lately erected under the direction of Thomas Belsey Esq., the present liberal proprietor of the estate. The old seats were removed in September 1817, and in the dust beneath them coins and two rings of base metal were discovered. One of the rings was found under the seat formerly appropriated to the castle. They were presented to Mr. Belsey [a]. At the same time a large comb, formed out of box wood, several wooden and glass beads, and part of a flambeau, were collected from the rubbish.

The old seats, being thus discarded, were purchased by the writer of this account; and of some of them are formed the pulpit and desk, which now ornament the neighbouring church at King's Cliffe.

The pulpit is original and in good preservation. It is hexagonal, supported on one pillar, and adorned

[a] Some years ago, a gold ring of an antique form was found by a workman, in part of the great park. It fell into the hands of William Walcot Esq. of Oundle, and was presented by him to the Hon. Daynes Barrington. In the year 1812, a thumb ring was discovered in a dilapidated part of the old Inn. It is of mixed metal, and was originally washed with gold, part of which remains on it. On the upper part a squirrel sitting and eating a nut is engraved. It is in the writer's possession; who was shewn an ancient deed in the possession of G. F. Lynn

with carved pannels inserted in a border of tracery. Above are the remains of the canopy, which probably was surmounted by a high crotcheted pinnacle; but which has, since the reformation, given way to a large sounding board. On examining the canopy, whilst it was under repair, some of the ancient gilding, that covered this part of the pulpit, was discovered. At the back is a shield of arms, bearing France and England quarterly; supported, on the dexter side, by a lion rampant guardant, for the Earldom of March; and a bull[a], for Clare; and on the sinister, by a hart, shewing descent from Richard the Second, who took that device; and by a boar, for the honour of Windsor, possessed by Richard the Third. Gray, alluding to the murder of the Princes, characterizes Richard by this badge, and says,

The bristled Boar, in infant gore,
Wallows beneath the thorny shade.

Esq. at Southwick, to which an impression was attached exactly similar to this. It was a conveyance of land from (he thinks) Ayott or Wyott of Oundle, to a former possessor of Southwick, in the time of Edward the Fourth. Robert Wyott and Joan his wife built the south porch of the Church at Oundle; and she, after her husband's death, founded the fraternity of St. John and St. George at that place. It was on the south side of the Churchyard; and in 1557 was purchased by the executors of Sir William Laxton, who converted it into a school room and almshouse. The building still remains. It was erected about the year 1464. At that time the foundress obtained licence to purchase in mortmain. Pat: 4 Ed. 4. p. 1. m. 15.

A rose noble of one of the Edwards was found amongst some gravel, removed from the Castle Hill, about 35 years ago. It is in high preservation; and is mentioned in Topog. Brit. No. 40. p. 19; it is now in the possession of the Rev. C. A. Wheelwright, Prebendary of Lincoln, and Rector of the neighbouring church of Tansor.

[a] The bull of Clare, parts of which were remaining on the pannel, and the imperial crown, mentioned below, have lately been restored. Of the first there were remains sufficient to justify the restoration; but of the last the writer cannot speak with so much certainty.

The shield of arms is surmounted by an imperial crown.

The pavement contains many stones, which mark the graves of Ecclesiastics and other persons; but the brasses that once represented their effigies and recorded their names have long since been erased. The only brass plate remaining is near the communion rails, and bears the following inscription, in black letter:—

Here lieth buried Mr. Thomas Hurland, Scholemaster of Fotheringhay 33 years, who deceased Jan. 5. A° Dni 1589.

Ætatis suæ 70.

Pædotriba bonus jacet hoc sub marmore tectus:
Præclarus methodo, clarus et arte fuit.
Discipulos omnes purâ pietate beavit,
Moribus instruxit pectora prima bonis.
Formandis pueris animum transmisit et annos;
Ætate exhaustâ cælitûs hospes ovat.
Vitâ licet cessit, jaceatque cadaver in urnâ,
Virtutes ramanent; nomen in orbe manet.

Though life be gone, and corpse be laid in grave,
His virtue lives, and fresh his name doth save.

Upon a column, on the north side of the middle aisle, is a small marble monument, ornamented with an escutcheon; (on a lozenge, a lion rampant, impaling

a fesse dancette;) and bearing the following inscription:

Near this place lies the body of
MRS. KATHERINE HUTCHINSON,
Daughter of the Rev. Mr. Lewis West, Archdeacon of Carlyle, and Granddaughter of the Rev. Dr. Richard Marsh, Dean of York, and Widow of the Rev. Mr. John Hutchinson, Vicar of Moreland, in Westmoreland; by whom she had five Sons and one Daughter, who from their infancy were left to her sole care; which trust she discharged with the greatest faithfulness, giving all her children a genteel and liberal education. She died April 18th 1726, Aged 88: Forty-seven of which she lived a widow, universally esteemed for her piety and good works; no one of her years having fewer idle words or idle hours to answer for.

This Monument was erected by Mich. Hutchinson D.D. her youngest child, in testimony of his filial piety to one of the best of Mothers.

Near the communion rails on the south side the nave, was lately a white marble gravestone to the memory of

Edmunde Tyrynham, who died in 1564.

The inscription was almost obliterated, and the armorial bearings effaced, except one shield at the corner, on which was a saltire. This stone was removed when the church was paved, and, being much broken, was not replaced[a].

On a mural monument, at the east end of the south aisle, is the following inscription:

[a] Sir Richard Sapcote, of Elton, Kt. the founder of that Family in Huntingdonshire, was buried at Fotheringhay in 1477. (Topog. Brit. No. 40. p. 36.)

Sacred to the memory of
THE REV. JOHN MORGAN,
Vicar of Warmington,
Minister of Apethorpe and Newton,
and forty-six years Master of the Free Grammar School
in this place.
To sum up all the virtues of this great and
good man would fill a volume:
Suffice it to say, that he was a truly pious
Christian, a faithful Minister of
the Gospel, and that no man ever excelled
him in the duties of Husband, Father and Friend.
He died lamented by all who knew him in the 80th
year of his age, Feb. 15th 1781.

In the same Grave are deposited the Remains of
Mrs. Alice Morgan, relict of the Rev. John Morgan,
Who died Jan. 12th 1785, aged 77.

Their surviving children, in testimony of their affection,
caused this monument to be erected to their memory.

On the north side at the upper end of the nave, are the following inscriptions on the floor, to the memory of the Forster Family:

Here lies the Body of Sarah Forster
of Haverill in the County of Suffolk
the Daughter of Richard Forster of Nassington, Gent.
Who dyed the 12th of May, 1700.

(A chevron between three bugles.)

Here lyeth the Body of Augustine Forster Gent.
the son of Thomas Forster of Nassington, Clerk,
who dyed the 24th of November 1723, Ætatis suæ 33.

Here lyes the body of Thomas Forster, Clerk,
The Son of Richard Forster of Nassington, Gent. the
Husband of Jane the Daughter of Thomas Vow of
Hallaton in the County of Leicester, Gent, by whom
she left three Sonnes, who dyed the 10th day of
December, 1697.
Ætatis suæ 52.

Within the communion rails on the south side is the following:

M. S.
Here lie deposited the dear Remains of
John Newton of King's-Cliffe, Gent.
Who returned to rest Junii 3tio Ano Dni 1701,
Ætatis suæ [a]

At the upper end of the nave:
In Memory of
JOHN SOUTHWELL,
Who departed this Life,
November the 24th,
1801;
Aged 70 years.

In Memory of
ELIZABETH SOUTHWELL,
Wife of John Southwell,
who departed this Life
October the 9th 1782.
Aged 49 years.

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[a] The figures are omitted on the stone.

Near the middle of the nave on the north side:
Here lyeth the Body
of Elizabeth, the Wife
of JOHN FOX, Daughter
of William Thrumpton,
who departed this life
June the 7th 1696:
Ætatis suæ 32.

Here lyes the Body of
WILLIAM THRUMPTON,
Who departed this Life the 13th Day
of Feb. 1695:
Ætatis suæ 75.

Mr. JAMES HOLCOT,
Vicar,
obt Dec. 20
1735.

Here lyeth the Body
of Mr. JOHN TOOKEY,
who departed this
life the 11th Day of
September 1728:
Anno Ætatis 68.

On the south side of the nave:
To the memory of
EDWARD HICKS, Son of
John and Mary Ann Hicks
died in his Infancy
May 27th 1802.

LETITIA HICKS
Daughter of
John and Mary Hicks
died May the 4th
1796
aged 25 years.

In the midst of the nave:
Rev.
GEO: GRIFFITHS
died Dec. 3d
1789
aged 52.

At the upper end of the north aisle:
Mr. RICHARD DOBINSON
A. M.
Vicar of this Parish near forty years
died Dec. 16th 1775. Aged 80 years.
I know that my Redeemer liveth.
RESURGAM.

Mrs. ELIZABETH DOBINSON
died Jan. 25th 1763. Aged 81.

Mrs. LÆTITIA SWEATMAN died
Dec. 15th 1764. Aged 70.

SARAH and CAROLINE
twin Daughters of the
Rev. ROBERT LINTON
and Mary his Wife
died in their infancy
July 26th and 31st 1806.

ELIZA, Daughter
of the Rev.
ROBERT LINTON
and Mary his Wife,
died March 11th 1816
aged 6 years.

MARTHA, Daughter
of the Rev. ROBERT LINTON
and Mary his Wife,
died March 25th 1816
aged 3 years.

At the upper end of the south aisle;
The Rev. JOHN MORGAN
1781
aged 80
Mrs. ALICE MORGAN
1785, aged 78 years.

In Memory of
JOHN MORGAN
who died Jan. 3d
1767
aged 27 years.

SARAH
Daughter of
the Rev. John Morgan
and Alice his wife
died Aug: 10
1814
aged 77.

WILLIAM MORGAN
an Infant died
August 5. 1774.

CHARLOTTE BONNEY
an Infant
died May 15th
1779.

Here lyeth the
Body of SUSANNAH
HARRISON the wife
of Robert Harrison
who departed this
Life January the 27th
1747
aged 58 years.

Here lyeth the body of
THOMAS BLEWIT Eldest
Son of Robert and Ann Blewit.
Hee departed this life the 23 day of
April 1682.

Sacred
to the memory of
MARY ANN, Daughter of
Lewis and Ann WHITWELL
who departed this life
March the 21st 1792
Aged 21 years.

Sacred to the memory of
ANN, wife of
Lewis WHITWELL
who died August 21st 1792
Aged 62 years.

Sacred
To the memory
of MARY wife of
Henry WHITWELL
died February
27th 1794.
Aged 22 years.

JOHN MAYDWELL
died
August the 29th
1796.

In memory of
ROBERT HARRISON
died June the 16th
1771.
Aged 57 years.

In Memory of
JOHN, son of John and
Lætitia WEBSTER
of Deen
Born April 13th 1778
died March 4th
1780.

ELIZABETH the wife of
John MAYDWELL
died May the 5th
1798
Aged 80 years.

JOHN MAYDWELL
died
December the 21st
1785
aged 74 years.

In memory of ELIZABETH
the Daughter of
John and Elizabeth MAYDWELL
died June 23d 1777
Aged 40 years.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE

College,

AND RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE

Vicarage.

In 1534, John Russel, master of the college, with Thomas Birde, Chantor, and eleven Fellows, professed, under their seal, obedience to the King; and acknowledged him supreme head of the Church of England. Russel appears to have been the last master. Five years subsequent to this event[a], the society surrendered the college and its liberties to the crown. And still the collegiate body was not dissolved, for in the thirty-seventh of Henry the Eighth, six years after this, some exchanges were allowed it, in Great Wilbraham church and manor in Cambridgeshire, and Hemingford Abbot in the county of Huntingdon, in consideration of the manor of Anebury in Wiltshire[b]. It seems to have continued till the time of Edward the Sixth. In the first year of that reign, the Rectories of Coddicote and Tring in Hertfordshire, were given to the master and fellows, in exchange for the manor of Newent[c]. At the same time Laurence Saunders is said to have been divinity lecturer in the college[d]. He was

[a] Some exchange had taken place at this time, (31st Hen. 8th.) for on the 3rd of August of that year, the Churchwardens were chosen, by assent and consent of the whole Parishioners. (MS. in the writer's possession.)

[b] Pat. 37. Hen. 8. p. 7. Sept. 8.

[c] Pat. Ed. 6. p. 2. m. Newcourt. 824.

[d] Fox. Martyrolog.

afterwards brought to the stake at Coventry, where he suffered on the fifth of February 1555. He resigned his situation in the college in 1553 on his being collated by Archbishop Cranmer, to the Rectory of All-hallows, Bread Street, London. The resignation of his Lectureship in the college, marks the time when it was dismembered; for in that year the site of the college, and property belonging to it, were granted by King Edward VI., to Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.

The Choir—an appendage to the collegiate, and not to the parochial Establishment—was then dismantled, and its furniture sold to various purchasers. Some of the Stalls still remain, in the neighbouring church of Hemington; on which are the following devices:—A falcon within a fetterlock, a boar, a rose, a feather issuing from a ducal coronet, a helmet surmounted by a coronet of the same form as the last, and a grotesque figure of a man. This, supported by tradition, is sufficient evidence of their having belonged to this collegiate church. It is probable that they were purchased by Sir Edward Montague, who resided at Hemington. His grandson, Edward Lord Montague of Boughton, rebuilt the church at that village in 1668. There are also twelve stalls in the church at Tansor, an adjoining parish, which are decorated with the rose, the fetterlock, and a knot. These are also said to have been in the choir at Fotheringhay, and may with equal propriety be considered part of its ancient furniture.

Upon the attainder of the Duke of Northumberland, the site of the college, and the estate belonging to it, reverted to the crown; and were granted in the first year of Mary, upon lease, to James Cruys;

who, soon after, in conjunction with Geoffrey Cruys, purchased the collegiate edifice with the demesne lands, Westmead, Frier's close in Morehay, Walton's Hill close, Newwood and Shortwood[a].

Previous to this conveyance of the property, an account was taken of the premises, by which it appears that the edifice was then entire. "The site of the college, with the wood-yard, outward and inward courts, orchards and gardens, contained two acres and a half and twenty poles. In the cloister windows, in number eighty-eight, were painted stories, much broken, and in the library seven windows. In the rooms and chambers of the cloister, were eighteen doors of freestone[b]. A dwelling house, with glazed rooms and lodgings, and all necessary outhouses, was reserved for the farmer or owner of the premises[c]." Hence some notion may be formed of its extent and arrangement.

The principal house and site of the college, with all the premises, meadows, and demesne lands, in the twenty-first of James I., were the estate of Sir William Beecher Knt[d]. And in the eleventh of the succeeding reign, they were the property of Mountjoy, Earl of Newport, and Sir Thomas Cheeke Knt. The proprietors claimed[e] the privilege of free warren and

[a] Newwood amounted to twenty acres: Shortwood to fifteen acres. There were also tenements and burgesses in Fotheringhay, belonging to the college, of the value of £24: 14: 4 per annum.

[b] The average value of these was 3s. 4d. a door.

[c] In the 39th of Elizabeth a fine was levied, between Henry Beecher and Gamaliel Cruys Esq., of tenements in Fotheringhay. (Fin. ann. 39 Eliz. MS. Hatton.)

[d] Survey ann. 21 Jas. 1. penes Thomas Boughton de Cliffe.

[e] Clam. forest de Rockingham 11 Chas. 1 in archiv. Turr. Lond. n. 74.

chase, and of holding the premises free from the jurisdiction of the justices of Rockingham Forest; a privilege granted to the college by King Edward IV., in the first year of his reign.

After this, the estate, formerly belonging to the college, seems to have descended to the same proprietors as were possessed of the castle and manor, till the latter end of the last century; when the close, in which the college stood, was given to the vicarage, in exchange for other land.

The vicarage having merged in the headship, the following is a list of the Masters or Deans who presided in the college:

Patrons.	*Masters.*
The Precentor and Fellows.	John Mason, Cap. et Soc. Coll. ult. Maii, 1423.
	John Bokeland, 1426.
	John Pecham, occur. mag. 14 Jan. 1434.
	Richard Wancourt, Presb. Soc. Coll. 8 Jan. 1437.
	— — — — — —
	Thomas Buxal, 1480.
	William Felde, 1481.
	Robert Bernard, 1509.
	John Russel, *before* 1535.

The first person officiating after the Reformation appears to have been:

*Sir Thomas Woode, 31st Hen. VIII.

* Bachelors of Arts were so called—They are still styled 'Dominus' in our Universities.

John Welby, instit. 1578, died 1644.
Jonathan Welby, instit. 1644, died 1697.
James Holcot, instit. 1697, died 1735.
Richard Dobinson, instit, 1736, died 1775.
George Griffiths, instit. 1775, died 1789.
William Taite, instit. 1790, died 1814.
Robert Linton, instit. 1814, *the present Vicar.*

The Vicar is intitled to Easter Offerings and Mortuaries, and a money payment from the estate now possessed by Mr. Ord. He is not charged with first-fruits or tenths. The exemption from the latter took place in 1716, on the petition of Mr. Holcot, the Vicar[a]. By his attention, an exact account was taken of all papers relating to the vicarage, of which a list is given in the note[b]. Several terrars have, in process of time, been delivered into the ecclesiastical court of Peterborough. But, as exchanges of land have been made by subsequent Vicars, under legal authority, they no longer contain a true statement of the vicarial estate.

[a] Topog. Brit. No. 40. p. 42.

[b] A list of papers kept by the Vicar: (viz.) A. D.
1. An order for uniting the Church and Vicarage.....1414.
2. A terrar of the ancient glebe land.
3. A copy of the same.
4. Induction of John Welby into the Vicarage.....1595.
5. Literæ testimon. Episc. Linc. de adm. Vic. regist. 1369..1596.
6. Literæ testimon. Episc. Linc. quod Vic. de Foth. habebit tot. alterag.....1596.
7. The Commissioners' return to the Exchequer of Vicarage House and glebe.....1597.
8. Mr. John Welby's petition for abatement of rent.....1639.
9. Abatement of Mr. Welby's rent for Brakeholm, &c....1639.
10. Presentation of Jonathan Welby to the Vicarage.....1644.
11. Earl of Newport's confirmation of the stipend of £50....1647.

The following extract from a terrar, delivered into court on July the 7th 1807, contains an accurate account of the vicarage:

"The vicarage of Fotheringhay was originally endowed with tythes, like other vicarages; till the proprietor of the greatest part of the lands in the parish, agreed with the Vicars to allow them an annual stipend, in lieu of tythes arising from his own estate; which continued as an established custom till the year 1683; when the Marquis of Halifax, then proprietor, settled on the Vicar for ever, with the consent of the Bishop of Peterborough, several parcels of land, thereby exonerating his own estate only, from payment of tythes, but not the other lands in the parish, nor exempting any person from payment of usual dues of Easter offerings, Surplice fees, Mortuaries, &c."

The estate so settled, now amounts to ninety-three acres two roods and several poles, including the site of the vicarage house and premises.

The patronage is in the proprietor of the estate.

A. D.

12. Earl of Newport's grant of two closes, and an additional stipend.....1649.
13. Earl of Newport's consent to the ploughing of Fewlis' ground.....1651.
14. Mr. Land's letter on the same subject.....1657.
15. Lease of lands by the Earl of Newport to Jonathan Welby 1657.
16. Earl of Newport's licence to let the premises to Ward....1660.
17. The Bishop's consent to a settlement of glebe on the vic.1683.
18. Deed of settlement for the same.....1683.
19. A Terrar of the lands settled by the deed.....1683.
20. A complete terrar on parchment presented in.....1705.
21. Imperfect copies of terrars presented in.....1726.

Relating to the Poor of Fotheringhay:

1. On parchment Mr. Brudenel's gift of £5.....1617.
2. A deed for repairing the Church, and relieving the poor, by the Earl of Newport.....1640.

The Hermitage.

In the fourteenth of Edward III. there was a religious establishment here, called the "Ermytage." It was under the Abbat of Sawtree, who held it as of the castle and manor, with one carucate of land, to find a chaplain to perform divine service at it every week on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, for the souls of John Balliol, and his ancestors, formerly Kings of Scotland, and lords of the castle[a]. Hence we are led to attribute the foundation of this Hermitage, to John de Balliol, who was possessed of one moiety of this estate, in right of his wife Dervorguilla, in the twenty-second year of King Henry III. In 1254 the property belonging to the Hermitage was rated at four pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence.

A. D.

3. A Copy of the same
4. A letter from Mr. Lund to Mr. Welby, concerning the settlement of the poor.....1660.
5. A deed on parchment, signed by Sir George Saville, granting £30. per ann. to the poor of Fotheringhay: This deed was put into the church chest in 1779.....1662.

Relating to the Free-School:

1. Letter from W. Blackwall, concerning the choice of a Schoolmaster.....1713.
2. Agreement between Mr. Holcot, Vicar, and Mr. Thomas Bennet, Schoolmaster.....1698.

[a] Inquis. 14 Edw. III. n. 67. at cart. 11 Edw. III. n. 48.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE

House of York.

A SHORT account of the different branches of the HOUSE OF YORK, which contributed so much to raise Fotheringhay into notice, will serve as an illustration to the history already given.

The Founder of this powerful Family, was EDMUND PLANTAGENET, surnamed of Langley, from the royal manor of Langley, near St. Alban's, where he was born, in the year 1341, and baptized by Michael, then Abbot of St. Alban's. He was the fifth[a] son of Edward III., by Philippa, daughter of William, Earl of Heinault. In 1362, being then Lord of Tindal, his father created him Earl of Cambridge, and soon after conferred upon him the knighthood of the Garter. In 1376 he was constituted constable of Dover Castle, and warden of the Cinque Ports.

Upon the death of Edward III., he was one of the commissioners of the government, during the minority of his nephew, King Richard II. In 1381 he was at the head of the army sent into Portugal, to assist his brother the Duke of Lancaster, in his claim to the

[a] His elder brethren were Edward, Prince of Acquitaine and Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester; William of Hatfield; Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence; and John of Ghent, Duke of Lancaster.—See Milles' Catalogue of Honour, and Sandford's Genealogical History, &c.

crowns of Castile and Leon; where, in conjunction with his brother, he obtained a memorable victory, in which the Castilians lost ten thousand men. On the 6th of August, 1385, in the ninth year of Richard II., and not long after his return from Portugal, he was, in reward for his eminent service, created Duke of York. Nine years after this, he was constituted custos of the realm, during the absence of Richard the Second in Ireland. And in the second expedition of that King into that part of his dominions, to revenge the murder of Roger Mortimer, whom he had nominated his successor to the crown, Edmund, Duke of York, was appointed the King's lieutenant; who, faithful to his trust, endeavoured to withstand the usurping power of the Duke of Hereford, afterwards King Henry IV.

On the elevation of the House of Lancaster to the crown, he retired to his manor of Langley, where he died on the first of August, 1402. He was buried in the friary at Langley, under an altar tomb of alabaster and black marble, ornamented with escutcheons of arms; which, at the dissolution, was removed to the north-east corner of the parish church[a].

He married first, in 1372, Isabel, the younger daughter and co-heir of Peter, King of Castile and Leon; and by her had three children: Edward, who succeeded him; Richard of Conisburgh, hereafter mentioned; and Constance, who married Thomas le Despencer, Earl of Gloucester, and by him had Richard, Lord le Despencer, who died without issue; Elizabeth, who died young at Cardiff; and Isabel, born

[a] Sandford's Geneal. Hist. B 5. p. 360 and throughout.—A plate of the Tomb is there given.

after her father's death, who, first married Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester, and Lord of Abergavenny; by whom she had Elizabeth, their heir, wife of Sir Edward Neville Knt., younger son of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland, who was summoned to Parliament, as Baron Abergavenny, 29th Hen. VI.; and from whom the present Earls of Abergavenny and Westmorland are descended. Her second husband was Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, (cousin-german to her former husband,) by whom she had Henry, Duke of Warwick, who died without issue, 11th June 1445; and Ann, the wife of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, who, in her right, was afterwards Earl of Warwick; and by her had issue two daughters, namely, Isabel, wife of George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV.; and Ann, first married to Edward, Prince of Wales, (son of Henry VI.,) and, secondly, to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard the third.

The second wife of Edmund of Langley, was Joan, daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, sister and co-heir of Edmund, Earl of Kent, by whom he had no issue. She married, secondly, William, Lord Willoughby of Eresby; her third husband was Henry, Lord Scrope; and, fourthly, she married Henry Bromflet, Lord Vescy, and died without issue in the 12th year of Henry VI.

The eldest son of Edmund of Langley, by Isabel of Castile, was EDWARD, created in the 13th of Rich. II., Earl of Rutland, (during the life time of his father,) and also Knight of the Garter. He filled the office

of constable of the Tower of London, was Earl of Cork, and Admiral of England and Ireland, custos of Dover Castle, and lord of the Cinque Ports. King Richard the Second also raised him to the dignity of Duke of Albemarle, and Constable of England. In the first of Henry IV., he conspired against that King; but was detected by the Duke of York his father, and exposed to the royal displeasure, for which he was deprived of the Dukedom of Albemarle, and government of the Tower[a]. To the latter, however, he was afterwards restored, and suffered to possess all the honours of his father, except the Earldom of Cambridge, which was given to his brother Richard of Conisburgh. Continuing in the interests of Henry the fourth, and his successor Henry the fifth, he was engaged in the memorable battle of Agincourt, where, at his own request, he led the vanguard, and fell on Friday, the 25th of October, 1415, in the 3d of Henry V. His corpse was found amongst the slain, miserably wounded and defaced, and was brought over and interred at Fotheringhay,

[a] Hume gives this account of him:—"Upon the discovery of the conspiracy against Henry 4th., the Earl of Rutland, (afterwards Duke of York,) being one of the conspirators, in order to save himself, betrayed all his associates." The Historian concludes with these observations.—"But the spectacle most shocking to every one who retained any sentiment either of honour or humanity, still remained. The Earl of Rutland appeared, carrying on a pole the head of Lord Spencer, his brother in law, which he presented in triumph to Henry, as a testimony of his loyalty. This infamous man, who was soon after Duke of York by the death of his Father, and first Prince of the Blood, had been instrumental in the murder of his Uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, had then deserted Richard, by whom he had been trusted, had conspired against the life of Henry, to whom he had sworn allegiance, had betrayed his associates, whom he had seduced into this enterprize; and now displayed in the face of the world, these badges of his multiplied dishonour."

as already stated. He was succeeded in his honours by his nephew, Richard, son of Richard of Conisburgh, Earl of Cambridge.

He married Philippa, second daughter and co-heir of John, Lord Mohun of Dunster, and died without issue. She afterwards married Sir Walter Fitz Walter, of Woodham Walter, Knt., by whom she had a son. She died in 1433, and was buried in the chapel of St. Nicholas, in Westminster Abbey, under an altar tomb, on which is her figure recumbent, and the following shield of arms: in the midst, York impaling Mohun; on the dexter, barry nebule of six argent and gules, on a bend sable, three plates, impaling Mohun; Fitzwalter impaling Mohun: on the sinister, Mohun impaling Burghersh, (viz.) gules, a lion rampant quevêe forchêe, or; Mohun alone: at the end of the tomb, York and Mohun.

Richard, the second son of Edmund of Langley, distinguished by the name of Conisburgh, from the place of his birth, was created Earl of Cambridge, in the second year of Henry V. Ungrateful for the honour conferred on him, he, in the year following, 1414, with Henry, Lord Scroop of Masham, Lord Treasurer, and Sir Thomas Grey of Hesom in Northumberland, Knt., conspired against the King's life, as he was embarking his army for France. The conspiracy being discovered, Richard and his accomplices were beheaded, and his remains interred in the chapel of God's House at Southampton. He married Ann Mortimer, sister (and afterwards heir) of Edmund, Earl of March, and daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, the son of Philippa, only daughter and heir of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third

son of Edward III. By her he had two children, Richard, afterwards Duke of York, and Isabel, who married Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex, and Viscount Bourchier, by whom she had a numerous issue. She is buried with her husband in the church at Little Easton, in Essex, where a handsome tomb remains to their memory.

Ann Mortimer, dying before her husband the Earl of Cambridge, he married, secondly, Maud, daughter of Thomas, Lord Clifford, by Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, Lord Roos of Hamlake, who survived him, and married afterwards John, Lord Latimer. She died without issue about the 25th of Henry VI.

Richard Plantagenet, only son of Richard of Conisburgh and Ann Mortimer, notwithstanding the defection of his father from the House of Lancaster, was in the Parliament at Leicester, in the fourth of Henry VI., restored to the dignities of Duke of York, Earl of Cambridge and Rutland, and lord of Tindale, which honours had fallen to him after the death of Edward, Duke of York, his uncle, killed at Agincourt, without issue. Upon the death of his maternal uncle, Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, which took place in 1424, who also left no issue, the earldoms of March and Ulster, and the lordships of Wigmore, Clare, Trim, and Connaught, fell to him as next heir. Thus honoured, and being through his mother nearer to the crown than the house of Lancaster, he began to entertain the thought of asserting his claim to the throne. But wanting power, he married Cecily Neville, the youngest daughter of Ralph, Earl of Westmorland by Joan Beauford his second wife, a daughter of John of Ghent, Duke of Lancaster. By this

match, he not only became related to the greatest nobility, but nearly allied to the numerous and powerful family of Neville: for Cecily his Duchess was sister to Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, (father of Richard, Earl of Warwick, afterwards styled the King-maker,) William Neville, Lord Fauconberg, George Neville, Lord Latimer, Edward Neville, Lord Bergavenny, and Robert Neville Bishop of Durham; and her half-brothers were Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland, and ——— Neville, Lord of Ousley; by whose assistance he was enabled to contend against the House of Lancaster.

Before he openly avowed this disposition, he was appointed by Henry the Sixth constable of England, and afterwards Regent of France. And in the 26th Henry VI., he was constituted Lieutenant of Ireland. Thus strengthened, he entered upon that contest for the crown, which, after a varied struggle, terminated by his death, on the field of battle before Wakefield, 31st of December 1460. His head being struck off and crowned with paper, was presented to Queen Margaret, the victor. But afterwards his remains were deposited at Pontefract, and, on the 22d July 1466, removed to Fotheringhay, as mentioned before.

His Duchess, Cecily, survived him many years, and died at the castle of Beckhamstead, on the 31st of May 1495. By her he had a numerous offspring: Henry, his eldest son died young;—Edward, Earl of March, afterwards King;—Edmund, Earl of Rutland, was barbarously murdered by John, Lord Clifford on the day of the battle of Wakefield, December 31st 1460, when he was about twelve years of age, and was buried with his father at Pontefract, and after-

wards removed to Fotheringhay;—William and John both died young;—George, Duke of Clarence, who married Isabel Neville, daughter of Richard, Earl of Warwick, by whom he had Edward, afterwards Earl of Warwick, executed on Tower hill 28th November 1499; Richard, died young; a daughter, died an infant; Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, married to Sir Richard Pole Knt.;—Thomas, died an infant;—Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King;—Ann, married first, to Henry Holand, son of John, Duke of Exeter, by whom she had a daughter who died young, and secondly to Sir Thomas St. Leger Knt., by whom she had a daughter, Ann, married to Sir George Manners, Lord Roos, she died 14th of January 1475;—Elizabeth, married John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and had five sons and four daughters, viz., John Earl of Lincoln, Edmund, Earl of Suffolk, Humphrey, in the church, Edward, archdeacon of Richmond, Richard killed at the battle of Pavia, in 1525, Catharine, married to William, Lord Stourton, Ann, a nun of Sion, Dorothy, and Elizabeth, wife of Henry Lovell, Lord Morley;—Margaret, third wife of Charles Duke of Burgundy, who survived her husband many years, and in 1500 was sponser to the Emperor Charles V., whose name was given him in respect to the memory of her deceased husband;—and lastly, Ursula, of whom there is no mention.

Edward, the second son of Richard, Duke of York, and his Duchess Cecily, was born at Rouen, in Normandy, on the 29th of April 1441; and during the life time of his father was called Earl of March. He ascended the throne under the title of Edward IV. When twenty-three years of age, his council proposed

a match for him with Bona, daughter of Louis, Duke of Savoy, and sister of the Queen of France. But, whilst this marriage was in treaty, the King going to pursue the chace in Witchwood Forest, paid a visit to the Duchess of Bedford, at the manor of Grafton-Regis in Northamptonshire, where he saw her daughter, Elizabeth, Widow of Sir John Grey of Groby, who pleaded to him for restitution of the estate of her late husband, of which she had been deprived after his death at the battle of St. Alban's. Her persuasive manner, and the beauty of her person, not only obtained her request, but engaged the King's affections; and he there married her, on the first of May 1464.

She was nobly descended[a], being the daughter of Sir Richard Woodville Knt. (afterwards created Earl Rivers,) by Jacoba or Jaquetta, daughter of Peter of Luxemburg, Earl of St. Paul, and widow of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France; and thus by marriage, aunt to Henry VI.

[a] See her Armorial bearing in the Engraving; which is thus explained. First argent, a lion rampant, queve forche gules, crowned proper, and was the paternal coat of her mother's Father, Peter, Earl of St. Paul, surnamed Luxemburg. Secondly, quarterly first and fourth gules, a star argent, and second and third azure, semèe of fleur de lis or, the arms of her grandmother Margaret Daughter of Francis de Baux, Duke of Andree. Thirdly, barry of ten argent and azure, over all a lion rampant gules, for Lusignan Cyprus. Fourthly, gules, three bendlets argent, a chief, party per fesse, argent, charged with a red rose, and or;—being the arms of her great grandmother Susan Daughter of the Earl of Ursins wife of the Duke of Andree. Fifthly, gules, three pallets varry, argent and azure, on a chief or, a label of five points azure, borne by St. Paul, and was the arms of the wife of Guy of Luxemburg, her great grandfather. Sixthly, argent, a fesse and canton gules, for Woodville, her paternal coat.

King Edward IV. died on the ninth of April 1483, in his 42d year, and was buried at Windsor; having had a numerous issue by his Queen: viz., Edward, afterwards Edward V.; Richard, Duke of York, espoused to Ann Mowbray, only daughter and heir of John, Duke of Norfolk, murdered in the tower; —George, surnamed of Shrewsbury, Duke of Bedford, died young;—Elizabeth, married afterwards to King Henry VII.;—Cecily, married to John, Lord Wells, and had issue two daughters, who died young; she married secondly, one of the family of Kyme of Lincolnshire, and was buried at Quarenna, in the Isle of Wight;—Ann, married to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and was buried at Framlingham;—Bridget, born at Eltham, November 10th 1480, a nun at Dartford;—Mary, died unmarried 1482;—Margaret, died in her infancy;—Catherine, married to William, Lord Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, died November 15th 1527, and had issue.

King Edward IV. left also two natural children, Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle, and Elizabeth, married to Sir Thomas Lumley.

Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard III., was brought up with his brother George at Utrecht, under the Duke of Burgundy, and remained there until their brother Edward ascended the throne. Soon after which, Richard was elevated to the dukedom of Gloucester, and constituted Lord Admiral of England. In the ninth year of Edward IV., he was made Constable of England, and Justice of North and south Wales; and in the year following he was appointed Warden of the west marches of Scot-

land. He married Ann, daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, and widow of Edward, Prince of Wales, son of Henry VI.; by whom he had a son, Edward, born in 1473, at Middleham, near Richmond in Yorkshire, created Prince of Wales in the first year of Richard III.; but died before his Father, who was killed at Bosworth, in 1485. His Queen died in the last year of his reign.

King Richard is said to have left two natural Children,—Catherine, betrothed to William, Earl of Huntingdon, and Richard Plantagenet. Richard, after his Father's death, was a bricklayer [a], and assisted in building the old mansion at Eastwell, in Kent, where he found protection from the possessor of that property; who built a house for him on that estate, and enabled him to spend the remainder of his life unmolested. The site of the house is still shewn at Eastwell; and in the parish register, there is an entry of his burial, which took place in December 1550.

[a] Peck's Desid. Curios. as well as the tradition of the place, and the Parish Register.

The end of the First Part.

THE

IMPRISONMENT, TRIAL, and EXECUTION

OF

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS,

At Fotheringhay.

PART THE SECOND.

A CIRCUMSTANTIAL account of the proceedings that took place at Fotheringhay, against the Queen of Scots, will not be an unacceptable appendage to these Notices. And as those persons, who were spectators at her trial and execution, are most likely to describe with accuracy the scenes that passed before them, it will be thought not only allowable, but probably correct, to give the record in its original language.

As an introduction to this document, we must state, that the Queen of Scots was brought as a prisoner to Fotheringhay Castle about the latter end of the summer of 1586. Closely confined within its walls, and aware of the dangers that surrounded her, she gave way to that pensive turn which marked her departure from France, and is so admirably described by Robertson.

"She was accompanied" he says, "to Calais, the place where she embarked, in a manner suitable to her dignity, as the Queen of two powerful Kingdoms. After bidding adieu to her mourning attendants, with a sad heart, and eyes bathed in tears, Mary left that Kingdom, the short but only scene of her life, in

which fortune smiled upon her. While the French coast continued in sight, she intensely gazed upon it, and musing, in a thoughtful posture, on that height of fortune whence she had fallen, and presaging, perhaps, the disasters and calamities which embittered the remainder of her days, she sighed often and cried out 'Farewell France! Farewell beloved Country! which I shall never more behold!' Even when the darkness of the night had hidden the land from her view, she would neither retire to the cabin, nor taste food, but commanding a couch to be placed on the deck, she there waited the return of day with the utmost impatience. Fortune soothed her on this occasion; the galley made little way during the night. In the morning, the coast of France was still within sight, and she continued to feed her melancholy with the prospect; and as long as her eyes could distinguish it, to utter the same tender expressions of regret*."

At the same time she is said to have composed these lines, which expressed her present sentiments:

Adieu, plaisant pays de France!
O ma patrie
La plus chérie,
Que as nourri ma jeune enfance;
Adieu France! adieu nos beaux jours!
La nef qui déjoint nos amours,
N'a eu de moi que la moitie;
Une part te reste, elle est tienne:
Je la fie à ton amitié,
Pour que de l'autre il te souvienne.

Seward's Anecdotes, Vol. IV. p. 293.

* Robertson's History of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 262.

In her latter days we perceive that misfortune had not blunted the edge of her sensibility, nor silenced that tone of pensiveness which characterized her earlier years. As she passed through Buxton on her way to this castle, she wrote the following lines on a pane of glass at the inn at that place:

Buxtona, quæ tepidæ celebrabere numine lymphæ,
Buxtona, fortè iterum non adeunda, vale!

Translation:

Buxton, whose tepid fountain's power,
Far fam'd, can health restore;
Buxton, farewell! I go—perchance,
To visit thee no more!

She continued to exercise her talent for versification, even when her doom appeared inevitable. Of this there are several instances. One of these, written by her own hand on a large sheet of paper, is thus transmitted to us:—

Que suis-je helas? et de quoi sert la vie?
J'en suis fors qu'un corps privé de cueur;
Un ombre vayn, un object de malheur,
Qui n'a plus rien que de mourir en vie.
Plus ne me portez, O enemys, d' envie,
Qui n'a plus l' esprit à la grandeur,
Vottre ire en bref de voir assouvie.
Et vous amys qui m' avez tenu chere,
Souvenez-vous que sans cueur, et sans santey,
Je ne scaurios auqun[a] bon œuvre faire,
Souhaitez donc fin de calamitey,

[a] For aucun.

Et qu'ici bas etant assez punie
J' aie ma part en la joie infinie.

Translation:

Alas! what am I? and in what estate?
A wretched corse bereaved of its heart;
An empty shadow, lost, unfortunate:
To die is now in life my only part.
Foes to my greatness! let your envy rest,
In me no taste for grandeur now is found:
Consumed by grief, with heavy ills oppress'd,
Your wishes and desires will soon be crown'd.
And you, my friends, who still have held me dear,
Bethink you, that when health and heart are fled
And ev'ry hope of fortune good is dead,
'Tis time to wish our sorrows ended here;
And that this punishment on earth is giv'n
That I may rise to endless bliss in Heav'n.

Semard's Anecdotes, p. 155. vol. 1.

On the eleventh of October 1586, not many weeks after her removal to Fotheringhay, the Commissioners appointed for her trial arrived, and a sermon was preached to them by Dr. Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough. The following day, Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Amias Paulet and Edward Barker, a notary Public, delivered to her Queen Elizabeth's Letter, in which her offence was stated, and received her reply.

On the thirteenth a deputation of the Commissioners, at the head of which were Bromley, Lord Chancellor, Cecil, Lord Treasurer, and Hatton, Vice-chamberlain, waited upon her; who endeavoured in vain to convince her of the legality of their commission to enter upon her trial. But "the next morning, Friday, October

the fourteenth[a], she changed her purpose, and determined to appear; and so about nine of the clock came forth into the presence chamber, prepared and hanged with cloth of state. In the upper part, and down along both sides, forms were placed covered with green, for the Earls and Lords on the right side and Barons on the left; somewhat below the midst of the chamber was a bar set, within which was a form for the Knights of the Privy Council, and before the forms a chair with a cushion and foot carpet for the Queen of Scots. Directly against the State Chair, (which was under a canopy) below the middle of the chamber, was a table, whereat sat the Queen's Attorney and Solicitor, and Sergeant, the Clerks of the Crown, and the two Notaries. Directly above that table in the midst of the chamber were two forms, whereon sat, on the right side, the Lord Chief Justice[b] of the King's Bench, the Lord Chief Baron[c], Doctor Dale and Doctor Ford. Over against them the Lord Chief Justice[d] of the Common Pleas, Justice Clinch, and Justice Periam; below the bar, such gentlemen as came to see the arraignment.

Right side of the Lords.	*Left side of the Lords.*
The Lord Chancellor.	The Lord Abergavenny.
The Lord Treasurer.	The Lord Zouch.
The Earl of Oxford.	The Lord Morley.
The Earl of Kent.	The Lord Stafford.
The Earl of Derby.	The Lord Grey.

[a] Harl. MSS. 1300. fol. 146.
[b] Sir Edmund Anderson, Knt.
[c] Sir Roger Manwood, Knt.
[d] Sir Christopher Wray, Knt.

Right side of the Lords.	*Left side of the Lords.*
The Earl of Shrewsbury.	The Lord Lumley.
The Earl of Worcester.	The Lord Sturton.
The Earl of Rutland.	The Lord Sands.
The Earl of Cumberland.	The Lord Wentworth.
The Earl of Lincoln.	The Lord Mordant.
The Earl of Pembroke.	Lord St. John of Bletsoe.
Viscount Montague.	The Lord Compton.
	The Lord Cheney.

Knights.

Sir Walter Mildmay.
Sir Ralph Sadler.
Sir Francis Walsingham.
Sir Christopher Hatton.
Sir James a Croft.

"The court sat two days, and adjourned till the twenty-fifth of the same month, (October,) to the Star Chamber, at Westminster; where, it assembled accordingly, and pronounced sentence against the accused[a]."

The execution of that sentence was delayed from various causes, till the eighth of February following.

[a] Sir William Fitzwilliam of Milton, in Northamptonshire, was Constable of Fotheringhay Castle at this time, and conducted himself towards the Queen of Scots with such respect and humanity, that a short time before her execution she told him she was unable to make him a proper return; but, if he would accept the Picture of her Son, then King James the Sixth of Scotland, and which was hanging at her bed's head, he should have it. The present was accepted, and is still in the collection of Earl Fitzwilliam, his lineal descendant.

In the mean time the Queen wrote to Elizabeth in these supplicating terms—

"Madame,

Pencant felon la commandement donney, que tous ceulx non compris en ung certeinge memoyre, deussent aller on leur affayres les conduiresoient j'avois choisi Monsieur de Levington pur estre porteur de la presente, ce que m'estant refusay a lui retenu, j'ai ete contraynte, nayant autre libertay, mettre la presente aux mayns de Monsieur de Shrewsberi, de la quele, et de celle siendoses, je vous suplie au moyns par pitié me faire quelque response. Car si je demeure en cet estat, je n'esperai jamais vous donner plus de payne.

Vostre affligée bonne Sœur & Cousin,

Marie R."

"A la Reyne d'Angleterre,
Madame ma bonne sœur."

On the seventh of that month, Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury, to whose custody she was committed, came to the Queen of Scots, and read the warrant, by which the Earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby, Cumberland and other persons, were authorized to see it enforced;—that the next day was fixed on for her execution,—and they admonished her to prepare for death.

The event is fully detailed in the following account, taken in part from Camden, and chiefly from a letter addressed three days after, to the Right Honourable

Sir William Cecil, Knt., Lord Burleigh, Lord high Treasurer of England:"—

"[a] It may please your good lordship to be advertized, that according as your honour gave me in command, I have here set down, in writing, the true order and manner of the execution of Mary, late Queen of Scots, the eighth day of February last, in the great hall within the castle of Fotheringhay, together with relation of all such speeches and actions, and all other circumstances and proceedings concerning the same, from and after the delivery of the Scottish Queen to Thomas Andrews Esq., high-sheriff for her Majesty's county of Northampton, unto the end of the said execution, as followeth:—

"It being certified the sixth of February last, to the said Queen, by the right honourable the Earl of Kent, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and also by Sir Amias Paulet, and Sir Drue Drury, her Governors, that she was to prepare herself to die on the eighth day of February then next coming;—she seemed not to be in any terror, for ought that appeared by any of her outward gestures or behaviour (other than marvelling she should die;) but rather with smiling cheer and pleasant countenance digested and accepted the admonition of preparation (as she said) to her unexpected execution, saying, '[b] that her death should be welcome unto her, seeing her majesty was so resolved; and that

[a] It has not been thought necessary to retain the original mode of spelling in this account.

[b] Camden adds,—"I did not think the Queen my Sister would have consented to my death, who am not subject to your law and jurisdiction." (Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth.)

that soul were too far unworthy the fruition of the joys of heaven for ever, whose body would not, in this world, be content to endure the stroke of the executioner for a moment.' And that spoken, she wept bitterly, and became silent.

"She prayed that she might have conference with her Almoner, her Confessor, and Melvin the Master of her household. For her Confessor, it was flatly denied that he should come to her; and the Earls recommended to her, the Bishop or the Dean of Peterborough to comfort her; whom she refusing, the Earl of Kent, in the heat of his zeal for the reformed religion, turning towards her, brake forth into these words amongst other speeches; 'your Life will be the Death of our religion, as contrariwise your Death will be the Life thereof.' When the Earls had departed from her, she commanded supper to be hastened, that she might the better dispose of her concernments, She supped temperately and sparingly, as her manner usually was. Being at supper, and spying her servants, both men and women, weeping and lamenting, she comforted them with great magnanimity, bade them leave mourning, and rather rejoice that she was now to depart out of a world of miseries. Turning to Burgoin, her Physician, she asked him, whether he did not now find the force of truth to be great? 'They say (quoth she) that I must die because I have plotted against the Queen's life; yet the Earl of Kent tells me, that there is no other cause of my death, but that they are afraid of their religion because of me. Neither hath my offence against the Queen, but their fear because of me, drawn this end upon me, while some, under the colour of religion and the public good, aim

at their own private respects and advantages.' Towards the end of supper she drank to all her servants, who pledged her, in order, upon their knees, mingling tears with their wine, and begging pardon for their neglect of their duty; as she also, in like manner, did of them. After supper she perused her will[a], read over the inventory of her goods and jewels, and wrote down the names of those to whom she bequeathed every particular. To some she distributed money with her own hand. To her Confessor she wrote a letter, that he would make intercession to God in his prayers. She wrote also letters of recommendation for her servants to the French King (*) and the Duke of Guise. At her wonted time she went to bed, slept some hours, and then waking, spent the rest of the night in prayer.

[a] Written in French, and preserved in the Cotton Lib. Vespas. C. 16. p. 145.—See also Topog. Brit. No. 40. p. 79.

(*) "*Sir, my Brother-in-law,*

HAVING, by the divine permission, for my sins I believe, thrown myself into the arms of this Queen my cousin, where I have many enemies, above twenty years since, I am, at length, by her and her parliament, condemned to die; and having asked for my papers, which they have taken away, in order to make my will, I cannot get back any that were of use to me, nor obtain leave to make a free will, nor, that after my death, my body should be conveyed, according to my desire into your kingdom, where I have had the honour to be a Queen, your sister, and an ancient ally.

"This day, after dinner, my sentence, without longer respite, was read to me, to be executed to-morrow, at eight in the morning, as a criminal. I have not had time to enlarge on what has past; but if you please to ask my physician, and these my other afflicted servants, you will hear the truth, and that, thanks be to God, I despise death, and faithfully

"The eighth of February being now come, she called her servants together, commanded her will to be read, prayed them to take their legacies in good part, for her ability would not extend to giving them any greater

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protest that I meet it innocent of every crime; were I their subject which I never was. The catholic religion, and the defence of the right which God has given me to this crown, are the two points of my condemnation. Yet, they will not permit me to say, that I died for my religion, but for fear of making change in their's; and for a proof of it, they have taken from me my almoner, who, though he is in the house, I cannot obtain leave for him to come and confess me, and give me the communion at my death; but they are very pressing that I should receive comfort and instruction from their minister brought hither for that purpose. The bearer of this, and his companions, most of them your subjects, will inform you of my behaviour in my last moments. It remains that I beseech you as the most Christian King, my brother-in-law, my ancient ally, and who have done me the great honor to protest that you love me, that on this occasion you would give proof in all these points of your virtuous disposition; the one, out of charity relieving me of what, to discharge myself and my conscience I cannot do without you, to reward my afflicted servants, by leaving them their wages; the other, in praying to God for a Queen, who has borne the name of Most Christian, and dies a Catholic, and bereft of all her possessions. As for my son, I recommend him to you as far as he shall deserve your favour, for I cannot answer for him: but for my servants I beseech you with folded hands. I have taken the liberty to send you two stones of rare virtue for health, wishing you may enjoy it uninterrupted with long and happy life. You will receive them as from your most affectionate sister-in-law, dying, and bearing witness of her good disposition towards you. I will recommend to you my servants by a written paper, and appoint that for my soul I may be paid in part of what you owe me, and that in honour of

matters. Then fixing her mind wholly upon God in her oratory or ordinary place of prayer, with sighs, and groans, and prayers she begged his divine grace and favour, till such time as Thomas Andrews, Sheriff

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Jesus, to whom I shall to-morrow at my death pray for you, you would leave me wherewith to found an obit, and do the necessary alms. This Wednesday two o'clock, after midnight.

Your affectionate and good Sister,
MARY, R."

She wrote the following memoranda on a separate paper:—

"*Mem.* Of my last requests to the King, to cause to be paid to me what is owing to me, both of my pensions, and the money advanced by the Queen my mother in Scotland, for the service of the King my father in these parts, at least till an annual obit be founded for my soul, and the alms and little foundations promised by me be completed.

Further, That he allow me to enjoy my dowry a year after my death, to reward my servants.

Further, That he be pleased to let them enjoy their wages and pensions for life, as was done for the officers of Queen Eleanor,

Further, I beseech him to take my physician into his service, and to give credit to what he shall say, and to pay regard to my recommendation of him.

Further, I will that my almoner be replaced in his rank, and on my account be presented to some little benefice, to pray to God for my soul the rest of his life.

Further, That Didier, an old servant of my table, to whom I have given a place in the rolls, for his reward may enjoy it during life, being very old.

Done the morning of my death, Wednesday, February 8.

Signed *MARY, R.*" *

* See preface to Topog. Brit. No. 40.—Pref. by that venerable Antiquary, John Nicholls Esq.

of the county, acquainted her that she must come forth. And forth she came, being of stature tall, body corpulent, round shouldered, her face fat and broad, double-chinned, and hazel eyed[a]; her borrowed hair abame, her attire was this:—on her head she had a dressing of lawn, edged with bone lace, a pomander chain, and an Agnus Dei about her neck, a crucifix in her hand, a pair of beads at her girdle, with a golden cross at the end of them, a veil of lawn fastened to her cowl, bowed out with wire, and edged round about with bone lace; her gown was of black satin, printed, with a train and long sleeves to the ground, set with acorn buttons of jet, and trimmed with pearl, and short sleeves of black satin, cut, with a pair of sleeves of velvet whole under them; her kirtle wholly of figured black

[a] In the collection of the Duchess of Buccleuch, at Boughton in Northamptonshire, is a portrait of the Queen of Scots, which answers to this description. Lord Montague of Boughton, was one of the Peers who sat on her trial, and would probably endeavour to obtain as accurate a likeness as the time would afford. Other Portraits represent her in the height of beauty; this shews her at an age when time and care had changed both her figure and countenance.

The false portraits of Mary are infinite (says Lord Orford)—but there are many genuine, as may be expected of a woman who was Queen of France, Dowager of France, and Queen of Scotland. Lord Orford had a drawing, by Vertue, from a genuine portrait unengraved. That artist was a papist and a Jacobite, and idolized Mary. At Lord Carleton's desire, and being paid by him, Vertue engraved a pretended Mary, in that nobleman's possession, but loudly declared his disbelief. Yet has this portrait been copied in Fieron's curious Histoire de Marie Stuart, Londres (Paris) 1742, 2 Vols. 12mo, and in many other works; while the Genuine Mary by Vertue, with the skeleton and her age, has not been re-engraved. This is the engraving in Rapin's History of England; and is from a painting in St. James's Palace, taken in 1580. Grainger enumerates twenty-eight engravings of this Queen from various paintings; of which, that from the portrait at St. James's Palace has the preference.

satin, and her petticoat-upper-body, unlaced in the back, of crimson satin, and her petticoat skirt of crimson velvet, her shoes of spanish leather with the rough side outward, a pair of green silk garters, her nether stockings worsted coloured watchet, clocked with silver, and edged in the top with silver, and next her legs a pair of jersey hose, white.

"The Queen, thus apparelled, in a kind of joy, without any desire of deferring of matter or time, departed her chamber, and very willingly bended her steps towards the place of execution, being gently supported out of her said chamber into an entry next the great hall, by two of Sir Amias Paulet's chief gentlemen, Mr. Andrews, the high sheriff, going before her; in which entry, the honourable the Earl of Kent, and the Earl of Shrewsbury, commissioners appointed by her Majesty for her execution, together with the two Governors of her person, Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury, and other knights and gentlemen of good account, did meet her, where they found one of her servants, named Melvin, kneeling on his knees to the said Queen, his mistress, who, wringing his hands and shedding tears, used then and there these words unto her;—'Ah! Madam, unhappy me! what man on earth was ever before the messenger of such important sorrow and heaviness as I shall be, when I shall report that my good and gracious Queen and Mistress is beheaded in England!' This said, tears prevented him of further speaking; whereupon the said Queen, pouring out her dying tears, thus answered him: 'My good servant, cease to lament, for thou hast cause rather to joy than to mourn, for now shalt thou see Mary Stuart's troubles receive their long-expected end and termination. For know (said she) good servant,

all the world is but vanity, and subject still to more sorrow, than a whole ocean of tears can bewail; but I pray thee carry this message from me, that I die a true woman to my religion, and like a true woman of Scotland and France; but God forgive them that have long desired my end, and thirsted for my blood, as the hart doth for the water brooks. O God! (said she,) thou art the author of truth, and truth itself, thou knowest the inner chamber of my thoughts, how that I was ever willing that England and Scotland should be united together. Well, (said she, then) commend me to my son, and tell him, that I have not done any thing prejudicial to the State and Kingdom of Scotland.' And so, resolving herself again into tears, said, 'Good Melvin, farewell;' and, with weeping eyes, and her cheeks all besprinkled with tears as they were, kissed him, saying, 'Farewell, once again, farewell good Melvin, and pray for thy Mistress and Queen.' And then she turned to the lords, and told them, 'she had certain requests to make unto them; one was for a sum of money, which Sir Amias Paulet knew of, to be paid to one Curle, her servant; next, that her poor servants might have and enjoy that with quietness, which she had given them by her will and testament; and that they might be favourably entreated, and to send them home safely into their own countries, and this to do, (my very good lords) I do conjure you.'"

"Answer was made, by Sir Amias Paulet, to this effect, 'I am not forgetful of the money your Grace doth speak of, and therefore your Grace need not rest in suspence of the performing your request.' And

then she said, 'there rested yet one request which she would make unto the lords, and that was this, That it would please them to permit her poor distressed servants to be present about her at her death; that their eyes might behold, and their hearts might be witnesses, how patiently their queen and mistress should endure her execution, that thereby they might be able to make relation (when they came into their own countries) how she died a true constant catholic to her religion.' Then the Earl of Kent did answer thus: 'Madam, that which you have desired cannot conveniently be granted; for if it should, it were to be feared, least some of them, with speeches or other behaviour, would both become grievous to your Grace, and troublesome and unpleasing to us and our company, whereof we have had some experience; for, if such an access might be allowed, they would not stick to put some superstitious trumpery in practice, an' it were but dipping their handkerchiefs in your Grace's blood; whereof it were very unmeet for us to give allowance'.

"'My Lord,' said the Queen of Scots, 'I will give my word (although it be but dead,) that they shall not deserve blame in any of the accusations you have named. But, alas, poor souls, it would do them good to bid their mistress farewell: and I hope, said she further to the Earl of Kent, 'your mistress (meaning her majesty) being a maiden Queen, will vouchsafe in regard to womanhood, that I shall have some of mine own people about me at my death.' 'And I know' said she, 'your mistress hath not given you any such straight commission, but that you might grant me a request of far greater courtesy than this, if I were a woman of far meaner calling than the Queen of Scots.'

And then perceiving she should not obtain her request without some difficulty, of mere grief she burst out into tears, saying, 'I am cousin to your Queen, and descended from the blood royal of Henry the Seventh, and a married Queen of France, and an anointed Queen of Scotland;' At which time upon great consultation had betwixt the two Earls, and others in commission, it was permitted that she should have some of her servants about her, according as before she had instantly intreated; and, withall desired her to make choice of half-a-dozen of her best beloved men and women. And then of her men she chose Melvin, her apothecary, her surgeon, and another old man besides; and of her women she chose two that did use to lie in her chamber. After this the Queen being supported by two of Sir Amias Paulet's gentlemen, (as aforesaid,) and Melvin carrying up her train, being accompanied with the lords, knights, gentlemen, and sheriff going before her (as aforesaid,) passed out of the entry into the hall of the castle of Fotheringhay, with an un-appalled countenance; and, without any terror of the place, the persons, or the preparations then and there made for her death, stept up to the scaffold in the hall, being two feet high, and twelve feet broad, with rails round about, hanged and covered with black, with a low stool, a fair long cushion, and a block covered also with black.

"Then having the stool brought her she sate down, and on the right hand of her stood the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, and on the left hand Mr. Andrews, the Sheriff, and opposite before her stood the two executioners, and round about the rails of the scaffold stood Knights, Gentlemen, and others.

"Then silence being made, the Queen's Majesty's commission was read openly, by Mr. Beale, clerk of the Council; which done, the people, with a loud voice said 'God save the Queen!' During the reading of which commission, the Queen of Scots was very silent, listening unto it with so careless a regard, as if it had not concerned her at all; nay rather, with so merry and cheerful a countenance, as if it had been a pardon for her life from her Majesty, and withall used such a strangeness in her words and deeds, as if that she had never known any of the assembly, nor had been any thing seen in the English language.

"Then Mr. Doctor Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough, standing directly before her, without the rails, bending his body with great reverence, uttered this exhortation following:—

"'Madam, the Queen's most excellent Majesty, (whom God long preserve to reign over us,) having, (notwithstanding this preparation for the execution of justice, justly to be done upon you, for your many trespasses against her sacred person, state, and government,) a tender care over your soul, which presently, departing out of your body, must either be separated in the true faith of Christ, or perish for ever; doth, by Jesus Christ, offer unto you comfortable promise of Almighty God to all penitents and believing Christians, wherein I beseech your Grace, even in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to consider these three things shortly:—First, your estate past, and transitory glory: Secondly, your condition present of death and mortality: Thirdly, your estate to come, either by everlasting happiness, or perpetual infelicity.

"'With the first, let me speak to your Grace with David the King: Forget, Madam, yourself, and your own people, and your father's house; forget natural birth, your royal and princely dignity, so shall the King of Kings have pleasure in your spiritual beauty; make all things as dust and dung, that you may be found of God, not having your own righteousness, which is defiled and unclean, but the righteousness of God, by faith in Jesus Christ upon all, and in all that believe; that you may know him, whom to know is life everlasting, and the fellowship of his passion, that if you suffer with him, you may be glorified by him; and the conformity of his death, that by the partaking and communion thereof, you may die to sin, and live again to righteousness.

"'And that in your former course, Madam, you be not judged in the Lord, repent you truly of your former sins and wickedness; justify the justice now to be executed, and justify her Majesty's faithfulness and favour towards you at all times; have a lively faith in Christ our Saviour, so shall you be rightly prepared unto death.

"'If your offences, Madam, were as many as the sands upon the sea shore, and as red and bloody as the scarlet; yet the grace and mercy of God the Father, through the passion and obedience of Jesus Christ his Son, by the sanctification of God the Holy Ghost, shall purge and make them as white as snow, and shall cast them into the bottom of the sea, and remember them no more. The special means to obtain his forgiveness of sins, is neither in man, nor by man, but by the sacrifice only in Jesus Christ, crucified by faith, in whom, we being justified, have peace with God, and spiritual security.

"'Secondly, consider, (I beseech your grace,) your present condition of death and mortality, your going from hence to be no more seen, your departure into a land where all things are forgotten, your entry into a house of clay, where worms shall be your sisters, and rottenness and corruption your father, (as Job saith,) where the tree falleth there it must lie, whether it be towards the south of life and blessedness, or towards the north of death and dolefulness. Now is the time of your rising to God, or your fall into utter darkness, where shall be weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth.

"'Hereafter there is no place of reconciliation, nor place of satisfaction; here life is gotten, and here it is lost; and, therefore, this day, Madam, yea, this hour, if you will hear God's voice, harden not your heart; the hand of death is over your head, and the axe is put to the root of the tree; the throne of the great Judge of Heaven is laid open, and the books of all your life are spread wide, and the particular sentence and judgment is at hand: but, if you fly to the throne of grace with boldness in Christ's only meritorious obedience, and apply it to your soul with the hand of true faith, your Christ shall be your life, and your death shall be your vantage, and nothing else but an entrance into everlasting glory, and this your mortality shall, in a moment, put on immortality.

"'Madam, now Madam, even now, doth God Almighty open unto you a door into a heavenly kingdom, in comparison whereof, all earthly principalities are as darkness, and the shadow of death. Shut not up, therefore, this passage by the hardening of your heart, and grieve not the spirit of God, which may seal your hope to a day of redemption.

"'Thirdly, and lastly of all, I pray your Grace to weigh with yourself the time and state to come, either to rise in the day of the Lord, in the day of the resurrection of life, or to hear that joyful and blessed Venite, 'Come ye blessed of my Father,' &c., or the resurrection of condemnation, replete with sorrow and grief, Ite, 'Go ye cursed into everlasting fire:' there to stand at God's right hand, as a sheep of his pasture; or on his left hand, as a goat prepared for vengeance; either to be gathered as wheat into his barn, or to be cast out as chaff into a furnace of unquenchable fire. Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; in the Lord you shall die, if in true faith you desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ; with Christ shall you be, if you make Christ your only sacrifice for your sin, and ransom for your redemption.

"'Ah, Madam, trust not to the devices which God's word doth not warrant, which is the true touchstone, and the clear lanthorn to lead and to guide our feet in the way of peace, Jesus Christ, Yesterday, and To-Day, and the same for ever; In Him are all the promises of God;—To Him give all the Scriptures testimony, that, through faith in His blood, we, and all God's Church, shall receive remission of sins. On Him all the Saints called in the day of their trouble, and have been heard and delivered; in Him have they all trusted, and have never been confounded. All other cisterns, (Madam,) are broken, and cannot hold the water of everlasting life. The name of the Lord is a strong tower, whereunto the righteous fly and are saved; and therefore, (Madam,) that you may so glorify God, in this your passage, that you may be glorified

of him for ever, I beseech your Grace, in the tender mercies of God, to join with us in prayer to the throne of his grace, that we may rejoice, and you may be comforted and converted, and God may turn his loving countenance towards you, and grant you his peace.'

"In uttering this exhortation, the Queen, three or four times said to him, 'Mr. Dean, trouble not yourself, nor me, for know that I am settled in the ancient Catholic and Roman religion, and in defence thereof (by God's grace) I mind to spend my blood.'

"Then said Mr. Dean, 'Madam, change your opinion, and repent you of your former wickedness,' and settle your faith upon this ground, that only in Christ Jesus you hope to be saved.' Then she answered again and again, with great earnestness, 'Good Mr. Dean, trouble not yourself any more about this matter, for I was born in this religion, and have lived in this religion, and am resolved to die in this religion.' Then the Earls, (when they saw how unconformable she was to the hearing of Mr. Dean's good exhortation) said, 'Madam, we will pray for your Grace, that, (if it may stand with God's will) you may have your mind lightened with the true knowledge of God, and his word, and so die therein.' Then answered the Queen 'My Lords, if you will pray, I will even from my heart thank you, and think myself greatly favoured by you; but to join in prayer with you, my Lords, after your manner, who are not of one and the self-same religion with me, it were a sin, and I will not.'

"Then the Lords called for Mr. Dean, and bade him say on, or speak what he thought good. Whereupon

the Dean, kneeling upon the scaffold stairs, began this prayer following:—

"O most gracious God, and merciful Father, who, according to the multitude of thy mercies, dost so put away the sins of them that truly repent, that thou rememberest them no more; open, we beseech thee, thy eyes of mercy, and behold this person appointed unto death, whose eyes of understanding, and spiritual light, albeit thou hast hitherto shut up, that the glorious beams of thy favour in Jesus Christ, do not shine upon her, but is possessed with great blindness, and ignorance of heavenly things, (a certain token of thy heavy displeasure, if thy mercy do not triumph against thy judgment;) yet, impute not unto her, (O Lord God we beseech thee) those her offences, which separate her from thy mercy; and, if it may stand with thy everlasting purpose and good pleasure (O Lord) grant unto us, (we beseech thee) thy humble servants, this mercy, which is about thy throne, that the eyes of her heart may be lightened, that she may understand, and be converted unto thee; and grant her also (if it be thy blessed will) the heavenly comfort of thy holy spirit, that she may taste and see how gracious the Lord is; thou hast no pleasure (good Lord) in the death of a sinner, and no man shall praise thy name in the pit; renew in her (we most humbly beseech thy Majesty) whatsoever is corrupt in her, either by her own frailty, or by the malice of the ghostly enemy: visit her (O Lord, if it be thy good pleasure) with thy saving health, as thou didst the offender at the side of the cross, with this consolation, 'this day shalt thou be with me in paradise:' say

unto her; as thou didst unto thy servant David, 'I am thy salvation:' so shall thy mercy, being more mighty, be more magnified. Grant these mercies, O Lord, unto us thy servants, to the increase of thy kingdom, and glory at this time. And further, O most merciful Father, preserve, we most humbly beseech thee in long and honourable peace and safety, Elizabeth thy servant, our most natural Sovereign Lady and Queen: Let them be ashamed and confounded, O Lord, that seek after her soul; let them be turned back, and put to confusion, that wish her evil: and strengthen still, O Lord, we pray thee, thy balance of justice amongst us, by her gracious government: so shall we, both now and ever, rest under thy faithfulness and truth, as under a shield and buckler; bless thy name, and magnify thy mercy, which liveth and reigneth one most gracious God, for ever, Amen.'

"All the assembly, (saving the Queen and her servants) said this prayer after Mr. Dean; during the saying of which, the Queen herself sat upon a stool, having upon her neck an agnus dei, in one of her hands a crucifix, at her girdle a pair of beads, with a golden cross at the end of them, with a latin book of vain prayers in her hand,—'De beatæ Mariæ officiis.'

"Thus furnished with her superstitious trumpery, without any regard had unto that which Mr. Dean said, she began very fastly, with tears and loud voice, to pray in latin, and in the midst of her praying, by reason of overmuch weeping and mourning, as it seemed she began to slide from off her stool; at which time, kneeling, again said divers other prayers in latin, and so she left praying before Mr. Dean. When Mr. Dean had done, she kneeled down again, and prayed in

English for Christ's afflicted church, and for the end of her troubles, and for her son, and for the Queen's Majesty, and desired God that she might prosper, and serve God aright; that spoke, she said she hoped to be saved by and in the blood of Jesus Christ, at the foot of whose crucifix (holding up that she held in her hand,) she would shed her blood.

"Then said the Earl of Kent, 'Madam, I beseech you settle Jesus Christ in your heart as you did before, and leave the addition of these Popish trumperies to themselves.'

"She seemed little or nothing to regard the good counsel of the Earl of Kent, but went forward with her prayers; and, in the conclusion thereof, in English, desired of God, 'That it would please him to avert and turn his wrath from this Island, and that he would give unto it grace and forgiveness of sins.' Then she said, 'That she forgave her enemies with all her heart, who had long sought her blood, and desired God to convert them to the truth.' This done, she desired all Saints to make intercession for her to the Saviour of the world, Jesus Christ: then she began to kiss her crucifix, and to cross herself; saying these words, 'Even as thy arms, Oh Jesus Christ[a], were spread here upon the cross, so receive me, I beseech thee, into thy arms of mercy, and forgive me all my sins,' and so ended.

[a] Seward asserts that the following lines were repeated by the Queen of Scots immediately before her execution:—they are set to music by the late Dr. Harrington, of Bath, and other musicians.

O Domine Deus, speravi in Te;
O chare, my Jesus nunc libera me;
In dura catena, in misera pœna, desidero Te;

"Then the two executioners kneeled down unto her, and desired her to forgive them her death. She answered, 'I forgive you with all my heart, for I hope this death shall give an end to all my troubles.'

"Then they, with her two women, helping her up, began to disrobe her; and when she laid her crucifix upon the stool, one of the executioners took from her neck the agnus dei; then she began to lay hold of it, saying she would give it to one of her women, and told the executioner that he should have money for it. Then she suffered them, with her two women, to take off her chain of pomander beads, and all her other apparel, and then with a kind of gladness and smiling, she began to make herself ready, putting on a pair of sleeves with her own hands, which the two executioners before had rudely put off, and that with such speed as if she longed to have been gone out of the world. During all these actions of disrobing the Queen, she never altered her countenance, but smiling, (as it were) at it, said, 'she never had such grooms before to make her unready, nor ever did put off her clothes before such company.' At length, she being unattired, and unapparelled of such and so much of her attire and apparel as was convenient, saving her petticoat and kirtle; her two women, looking upon her, burst out into a very great and pitiful shrieking, crying, and

Lanquendo, gemendo, et genuflectendo,
Adoro, implono, ut liberes me.

Translation.

O Lord my God, I have relied in Thee;
Now O dear Jesu set me, set me free;
In chains, in pains, long have I wished for Thee.
Faint, and with groans, I, bowing on my knee,
Adore, implore thee, Lord, to set me free.

lamentation: and when their shrieking began to decline, they crossed themselves, and prayed in latin.

"Then the Queen, turning herself to them, and seeing them in such a mournful and lamentable plight, embraced them, and said these words in french, 'Ne cry vous, jay promé pour vous,' and so crossed and kissed them, and bid them pray for her, and not to be so mournful; 'for, (said she) this day shall end your mistress's troubles.' Then, with a smiling countenance, she turned herself to her men servants, Melvin, and the rest, standing upon a bench near unto the scaffold, who were sometimes weeping, and sometimes crying out aloud; and continually crossing themselves, and praying in latin; and the Queen, (thus turned to them,) did herself likewise cross them, and bid them farewell, and prayed them to pray for her even to the last hour.

"This done, one of her women, having a Corpus Christi cloth, lapped it up three-corner wise, and kissed it, and put it over the face of her Queen and mistress, and pinned it fast on the caul of her head.

"Then the two women mournfully departed from her, and then the Queen kneeled down upon the cushion, at which time, very resolutely, and without any token of the fear of death, she spake aloud this psalm, in latin, 'In Te Domine, speravi, ne confundar in æternum, &c.'

"Then groping for the block, she laid down her head, putting her chain over her back with both her hands, which holding there still, had been cut off, had they not been espied. Then she laid herself upon the block most quietly, and stretching out her arms and legs, cried out, 'In manus tuas, Domine,' &c.,

three or four times. At last, while one of the executioners held her straightly with one of his hands, the other gave two strokes with the axe, before he did cut off her head, and yet left a little gristle behind; at which time she made very small noise, and stirred not any part of herself from the place where she lay[a].

"Then the executioner which cut off her head, lifted it up, and bade 'God save the Queen:' then her dressing of lawn fell from her head, which appeared as grey as if she had been three-score-and-ten years old, poled very short, her face being in a moment, so much altered from the form, which she had when she was alive, as few could remember her by her dead face; her lips stirred up and down almost a quarter of hour after her head was cut off.

"Then said Mr. Dean, 'So perish all the Queen's enemies.' And, afterwards, the Earl of Kent came

[a] The author of the Poem, from which the verses already inserted are taken, has availed himself of this part of the Queen of Scots history.—

—See the last sun on Stuart's eye decounds,
And night her curtain o'er the scene extends;
Her watchful train in speechless anguish weep,
The Captive's eyes alone are closed in sleep.

See the last morning break, with mournful state
For comes the royal Captive to her fate:
Death could not move her grief—the sighing breath
Of pitying bosoms gave the sting to death.

Be calm, she said—for Stuart soon shall be
Above the sphere of mortal majesty;
Her little triumphs and her wrongs be o'er:—
Weep no more, Melvin—Faithful, weep no more.
A trembling hope her last sad words express;
Scotland admonish, ruthless England bless.
But Oh! the pause that follow'd—and the groan
Struck ev'ry nerve, and froze the blood to stone!

Antona's Banks, 1797.

to the dead body, and standing over it, with a loud voice likewise said, 'such end happen to all the Queen's and the Gospel's enemies.'

"Then one of the executioners, pulling off part of her dress, espied her little dog, which was under her clothes, which could not be gotten forth but by force, and afterwards would not depart from her dead corpse, but came and laid between her head and shoulders, (a thing diligently noted;) the dog being imbrued with her blood, was carried away, and washed, as all things else were that had any blood, except those things which were burned. The executioners were sent away with money for their fees, not having any thing that belonged to her. Afterwards, every one was commanded forth of the hall, saving the sheriff and his men, who carried her up into a great chamber, made ready for the surgeons to embalm her,—and there she was embalmed.

"And thus, I hope, my very good Lord, I have certified your honour of all actions, matters, and circumstances, as did proceed from her, or any other, at her death, wherein I do promise your good lordship, (if not in some better or worse words then were spoken I am mistaken somewhat,) in matter I have not any thing offended; howbeit, I will not so justify my duty herein, but that many things might well have been omitted, as not worthy the noting; yet because it is your lordship's fault to desire to know all, and so I having certified all, it is an offence pardonable: so, resting at your honour's further commandment, I take my leave, this 11th of February, 1586.

Your Honour's, in all humble service to command,

R. W.

The Funeral

OF THE

QUEEN OF SCOTS

AT

Peterborough.[a]

THE funeral of the Queen of Scots took place in the Cathedral at Peterborough, on the first of August following her execution, 1587[b]. It was conducted with the solemnity usual on state occasions. The officers of the royal household were sent down for that purpose; Mr. Dorrel and Mr. Cox, to make preparation for the diet, and Mr. Fortescue, master of the wardrobe, for the funeral offices. The heralds went down three or four days before, and, with the Bishop and Dean, fixed on the place of interment, which was in the south aisle of the cathedral, opposite the grave of Queen Catherine, and near the tomb of John, last Abbot and first Bishop of that church.

[a] As it is more within the province of the Historian of Peterborough than of Fotheringhay, to record the Funeral of the Queen of Scots, the author had intended to refer the reader to Gunton's History;—but in consideration to the probable wishes of the reader, it is inserted in this account.

[b] See the original in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough.

Every second pillar in the nave of the cathedral was hung with two breadths of black baize, six or seven yards from the floor, and ornamented with escutcheons of the arms of the deceased Queen[a]: each escutcheon was surmounted by an imperial crown.

The choir was hung with baize of two breadths, one over the other, and ornamented in the same manner with escutcheons.

The semicircular part of the church, east of the Bishop's throne, which, at that time, was not thrown open to the choir, was hung with four breadths of black baize[b], united together, and adorned at the upper end with escutcheons of metal; and in other parts ornamented as the rest of the church. In the midst of this part, near the steps ascending from the choir, a stately and beautiful hearse was erected, the top of which was octagonal, raised like a tent, covered with black baize, and ornamented with escutcheons of metal and pinnacles at the corners. On some of

[a] Namely, or, a lion rampant, within a double tressure, counterflored proper, and severally impaled with the arms of both her husbands. Her first husband's being azure, three fleur de lis or, for France. And her second husband's, a shield of eight. 1st azure three fleur de lis, or; on a border gules three buckles fermaulx, the points of the thongs upwards of the first two or. 2nd or, a fesse checky or and azure; within a border gules. 3rd a saltire between four sets of torteaux of five each. 4th or, a lion rampant gules. 5th azure, a lion rampant argent crowned or. 6th argent, five pyles vert, points in fesse point. 7th or, a fesse checky gules and or; a crescent azure, over all a bend gules charged with three buckles fermaulx, the points upwards of the first. 8th argent, a heart gules, on a chief azure three cinque foils argent; over all, a label of three points argent.

[b] The Master of the Wardrobe paid to the Church for breaking the ground, and making the Grave, £10; and for the black hangings of the Choir and Church £20.

these was depicted the Shield of Scotland alone; on others, France and Darnley impaling Scotland; a saltire argent in a field or; and a unicorn argent collared, crowned, and chained or, on a field azure. On the top of the hearse were three escutcheons of Scotland gilded, and an imperial crown.

The valence was of black velvet, a yard and a half deep, fringed with gold three inches deep, adorned with four compartments of silver, two on each side. In these were small shields of arms of metal, with buckram between: and beneath the shield of Scotland this motto, "*In my defence God me defend.*" At every corner over the valence was an escutcheon surmounted by an imperial crown, and fastened to black staves, projecting a foot from the hearse; and round this part of the hearse were pensils of silk, in form of streamers. The six principal posts were covered with black velvet, and over each a compartment, with a motto, and a small escutcheon of metal.

On the night of Sunday, the thirtieth of July, the body was brought by torch-light from Fotheringhay Castle, by Garter King at arms[a], and other heralds, in a chariot prepared for the purpose, covered with velvet, and ornamented with appropriate ensigns, attended by several horsemen. They arrived in front of the Cathedral between one and two o'clock in the night, where the Bishop, Dean and Chapter, the Master of the Wardrobe, Clarencieux King at arms, several servants of the English Court, and other persons were in readiness to receive them. Six of the Scottish train, of which were Melvin, the Master of her Household, and her Physician, came with the Body; which,

[a] Sir William Dethick.

with its inclosures, weighed nine hundred weight. Being taken from the chariot, it was carried in funeral procession and deposited in the vault prepared to receive it, and was immediately covered, a small opening being left to receive the broken staves at the time of burial. The Bishop was in readiness to perform the service at that time, but all present agreed that it should be deferred till the solemnization of the Funeral.

On the Monday afternoon, the Nobility, and a large company assembled at the Bishop's Palace [a], and were entertained at supper in the great chamber, which was prepared for the purpose, and hung with black, having a Canopy of State made of purple velvet, on the right side of it.

At ten o'clock on the morning following, all things being ready for the procession, the chief mourner, nobility, and other assistants, went from the hall [b] of the palace to the cathedral, in the following order:—

The Sheriff's Bailiff. { Two Conductors with black staves, in coats. } The Bailiff of Peterborough.

One hundred poor men in gowns two and two.

John Hamshire. { Two Yeomen Harbingers in cloaks. } John Keyes.

THE STANDARD

Borne by Sir George Saville Knt[c].

[a] Over the present Hall, and now divided into Bed-rooms, &c.

[b] The Hall of the Palace probably occupied the space on the north side of the present House; having its length from north to south. Two of the windows of this room remain: they are so placed in the wall as to shew that the surface of the wall was once an inner surface: The Abbot's Chapel probably was on the second story at the north end of the Hall, abutting on the south-west steeple of the Cathedral.

[c] Afterwards created a Baronet by James I.

Gentlemen in cloaks, two and two.
Six Grooms.
The Dean of Peterborough's Man.
Mr. Stafford's Son.
Master of the Wardrobe's two Men.
The Bishop of Peterborough's Steward.

James Howland.
Edward Jackson.
Richard Kylefett.
Robert Cotton.

Lord Compton's Man.
Lady St. John's of Basing's Man.
Lord Willoughby of Parham's Man.
Lord and Lady Mordant's two Men.
Lord and Lady Dudley's two Men.
Lady Mary Saville's Man.
Lady Talbot's Man.
Lord and Lady St. John's two Men.
The Bishop of Peterborough's Man.
The Bishop of Lincoln's Man
The Earl and Countess of Lincoln's three Men.
The old Countess of Bedford's (Chief Mourner) three Men.
Ten Gentlemen in Gowns.
Mr. Worme.

Mr. Howland,
Mr. Horseman, } Three Sewars.
Mr. Fernis,

Mr. Creuse.
Mr. Watson.
Mr. Alyngton.

Mr. Marmaduke Darrell.
Dr. Fortescue Thomas.
Seventeen Scots, in Cloaks.
A Scottish Priest.[a]
Gowns.
The two Chaplains of the Bishops of Peterborough and Lincoln.
Mr. Fortescue, Master of Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe.
The Dean of Peterborough, Dr. Richard Fletcher.
Bishops of Peterborough and Lincoln.[b]

THE GREAT BANNER,

Borne by Sir Andrew Noel.[c]

{ Mr. Melvin, and Sir Edward Montague, Comptroller and Treasurer to the Queen of Scots. }

The Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord Steward.
Lord Dudley.
Lord St. John, of Basing.
Two Yeomen of the Guard, in cloaks, with black staves.
The Helm and Crest, borne by—pursuivant of Arms.
The Target, borne by Rouge Dragon, pursuivant of Arms.

THE COAT OF ARMS,

Borne by Somerset Herald.
Robert Cooke Esq., Clarencieux King at Arms, and a Gentleman Usher with him.

Then THE BODY, carried by these six Gentlemen in cloaks;—

[a] Said to have been a French Jesuit; who on this occasion wore a gold Cross pendent at his breast.

[b] Dr. Richard Howland, and Dr. William Wickham.

[c] Of Ridlington, in Rutland.

Francis Fortescue.
William Fortescue.
Thomas Stafforde.

Nicholas Smythe.
Nicholas Hyde,
Fortescue sen.[r] of Aywood.

EIGHT BANEROLS,

Borne by these Gentlemen:—
William Fitzwilliam.
Mr. Gryfith of Dingley.
Mr. Robert Wyngfield.
Mr. Bevill.
Mr. Lynne.
Mr. John Wyngfield.
Mr. John Spencer.
Mr. Fortescue, of Aywood.

THE CANOPY,

Borne by these four Knights:—
Sir Thomas Manners.[a]
Sir George Hastings.[b]
Sir James Harrington.[c]
Sir Richard Knightley.[d]

[a] Fourth son of Thomas, first Earl of Rutland, who died 1591.

[b] Second son of Francis, Earl of Huntingdon, who afterwards succeeded to that title.

[c] Of Exton, Rutland, died 1591: buried at Exton Church.

[d] Of Fawsley, Co. Northampton, which county he represented in the reign of Elizabeth, a great favourer of the Puritans, whose libels were published at his expence, for which he was cited in the star chamber and severely censured, but discharged, and his fine remitted, at the intercession of Archbishop Whitgift. He married first Mary, daughter of Richard Fermor Esq., of Easton Neston; secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, Duke of Somerset, and died 1615. (Bridges' Northamptonshire, vol. 1. p. 65.)

The BODY assisted by these four:—

Lord Mordant[a].

Lord Willoughby of Parham[b].

Lord Compton[c].

Sir Thomas Cecil Knt[d].

Sir William Dethick, Garter King of Arms, attended by a Gentleman Usher.

Earl of Rutland[e].	The Countess of Bedford[g], Chief Mourner;	Earl of Lincoln[f].

Her train borne by Lady St. John, of Basing[h],
Assisted by Mr. John Manners[i], Vice Chamberlain.

Other Mourners,
The Countess of Rutland[k].——Countess of Lincoln[l].

[a] Lewis Mordant, Lord Mordant; sat on the trial, and died 1601.

[b] Charles, who married Margaret, daughter of Edward, sister of Henry, Earl of Lincoln.

[c] Henry Compton, Lord Compton, was one of the peers on the trial of the Queen of Scots, died 1590.

[d] Eldest son of William Lord Burleigh, afterwards Earl of Exeter, 1606.

[e] Edward Manners, died April 14th, 1587; whose only Daughter, Elizabeth, married Sir William Cecil, Lord Burleigh.

[f] Henry Clinton,—sat on the trial of the Queen of Scots: He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Morrison Knt.

[g] Bridget, daughter of John Lord Hussey, widow of Sir Richard Morrison Knt., and of Henry Earl of Rutland, father of Earl Edward, and second wife of Francis Russel, Earl of Bedford, who died 1585.

[h] Possibly Lucy, daughter of Sir Thomas Cecil, afterwards Earl of Exeter.

[i] Possibly Brother and Successor to Edward, Earl of Rutland.

[k] Isabel, daughter of Sir Thomas Holcroft, of Vale Royal, Cheshire.

[l] Probably Elizabeth Fitzgerald, daughter of Gerald, Earl of Kildare, and relict of Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, father of Earl Henry —Lord Surrey's Geraldine.

Lady Talbot[a].——Lady Mary Saville[b].
Lady Mordant[c].——Lady St. John of Bletsoe[d].
Lady Manners[e].——Lady Cecil[f].
Lady Montague[g].——Lady Noel[h].
Mrs. Allington, and a Scots Gentlewoman.
Two Yeomen of the Guard, in cloaks.
Eight Scottish Gentlewomen, two and two.
Gentlewomen of the Countesses, two and two.
Baronesses, and Ladies according to their degree.
Gentlewomen:
The Countess of Bedford's four.
Countess of Rutland's three.
Countess of Lincoln's three.
Lady St. John's of Basing's, two.
Lady Talbot's two.
Lady Mary Saville's two.

[a] Possibly Ann, daughter of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and wife of Francis, Lord Talbot, eldest son of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, who had the custody of the Queen of Scots seventeen years.

[b] Possibly Mary, daughter of George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, wife of Sir George Saville Knt., created a Baronet 9th of Jas. I.

[c] Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Arthur D'Arcy Knt.

[d] Catherine, daughter of Sir William Dormer of Ethorp, County of Bucks, third wife of John, second Lord St. John of Bletsoe.

[e] Theodosia, daughter of Sir Thomas Newton, Knt. wife of Sir Thomas Manners, fourth son of Thomas, first Earl of Rutland, who died 1591.

[f] Dorothy, daughter of John Neville, Lord Latimer, first wife of Sir Thomas Cecil, eldest son of William Lord Burleigh, afterwards Earl of Exeter.

[g] Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Harrington, of Exton in the County of Rutland, Knt. and first wife of Sir Edward Montague of Hemmington in the County of Northampton, Knt. whose son, Sir Edward, was created Lord Montague of Boughton, in the said county, 19th of James I.

[h] Wife of Sir Edward Noel, of Dalby, in the county of Leicester, Knt. one of the gentlemen pensioners to Queen Elizabeth, whose son was created Lord Noel of Riddlington, 14th James I.

Lady Mordant's two.
Lady St. John's of Bletsoe, two.
Lady Manners' two.
Lady Cecil's two.
Lady Montague's two.
Lady Noel's two.
Mrs. Allington's two.
Yeomen in coats.
The Countess of Bedford allowed for ten men.
The Countess of Rutland, eight men.
The Countess of Lincoln, eight men.
Lady St. John of Basing, five men.
All Baronnesses and Ladies, five a-piece.
All Knight's wives, two men a-piece.
All Esquire's, one man a-piece.
One hundred poor women.

The Procession, passing from the hall of the palace to the cathedral, was met at the entrance into the church by the Prebendaries and Choir, who sung an anthem. The Scots, except Mr. Melvin, quitted the cathedral, and would not be present at the service or sermon. The Bishop of Lincoln[a] preached, upon Ps. 39, v. 5, 6, 7,—"*Lord let me know my end, &c.*" In the prayer, when he gave thanks for such as were translated out of this vale of misery, he used these words:—"Let us give thanks for the happy dissolution of the high and mighty Princess, Mary, late Queen of Scotland, and dowager of France, of whose life and death, at this time, I have not much to say, because I was not acquainted with the one, neither

[a] Dr. William Wickham.

was I present at the other: I will not enter into judgment further, but because it hath been signified unto me that she trusted to be saved by the blood of Christ, we must hope well of her salvation: for as Father Luther was wont to say 'many a one that liveth a Papist dieth a Protestant'." In his discourse he only dwelt on the general doctrine of the vanity of all flesh.

The sermon ended, a long piece of velvet and a cushion were laid at the Bishop's feet, for the Countess of Bedford to kneel upon. Then the King of Heralds conducted the four officers with white staves, and placed two at the top of the stairs, under the Bishop's throne, and two beneath them. Then the two principal Heralds preceded the Countess, supported by the Earls of Rutland and Lincoln, and Lady St. John bearing up her train. There she knelt awhile, and then all returned to their places; this was the first offering. The two Earls being placed without the pale, before the Countess; one of the Kings at Arms brought from the hearse the coat armour, gave it to the other King at Arms, and he delivered it to the two Earls; they carried it (obeisance being done to the Countess) to the Bishop, and kissed it on delivering it. A third herald took it of the Bishop, and laid it down on the altar; the sword, target, helmet, crown and crest, in the same manner were delivered by the two Earls, kissing their hands as they approached. Then were the two banners carried one after the other, by those that brought them, and so placed upon the altar, leaning to the wall; the other eight bannerets were put into the hearse, as they stood. Then the Countess went a second time, (Sir John Manners bearing her train) and offered alone to the Bishop. After

this, the Ladies and Gentlemen, two and two, went up and offered; then the officers with white staves offered; and last of all a herald went to the pulpit, and conducted thence the Bishop of Lincoln; and after this the greater part of the mourners left the church, in the same order in which they came. Towards the door of the choir the Scottish women stood, parted on either side, and as the English ladies passed, they kissed them all.

Then the Dean performed the Funeral Service at the vault, the Officers breaking their staves, and casting them upon the coffin. The ceremony being thus ended, they departed to the Bishop's palace, where a handsome banquet was prepared. The concourse of people was so great as to amount to several thousands. In the afternoon the nobility quitted Peterborough.

Shortly after the interment, the following epitaph, composed by Mr. Blackwood, and inscribed on a tablet, was hung up near the grave.

—

"MARIA SCOTORUM REGINA, Regis filia, Regis Gallorum Vidua, Reginæ Anglicæ Agnata, et Heres proxima: Virtutibus regiis, et animo regio ornata, jure regio frustra sæpius implorato, barbara et tyrannica Anglorum crudelitate atque sententia ornamentum nostri seculi, et lumen vere regium extinquitur: eodemque nefario judicio et Maria Scotorum Regina morte naturali, et omnes superstites Reges, plebeii facti, morte civili mulctantur, Novum et inauditum tumuli genus, in quo, cum vivis mortui includuntur, hic extat: cum sacris enim Divæ Mariæ cineribus, omnium Regum, atque Principum violatam

atque prostratam Majestatem hic jacere scito: et quia tacitum hoc Monumentum regale satis superque Reges sui officii monet, plura non addo, Viator."

Translation:

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, a King's daughter, widow of the King of the French, cousin and next heir to the Queen of England, adorned with royal virtues and a royal mind (the royal authority being often implored in vain) by the barbarous cruelty and tyrannical sentence of the English, the ornament of our age and the true royal light, is extinguished. And by the same nefarious judgment, both Mary, Queen of Scots hath suffered a natural death, and all other Princes (made Plebeian) suffer a civil death. A new and unheard of kind of Tomb is this, in which the living are included with the dead. Know, with the sacred ashes of the divine Mary, here lies prostrate and violate the majesty of all Kings and Princes. And because this silent royal Monument abundantly admonishes Kings of their duty, traveller, I say no more.

—

This tablet was soon taken down; by whose order is not known. The Helmet and Escutcheon were remaining pendent over the grave, when Dugdale visited the spot in 1641; but were destroyed during the great rebellion.

The remains of the Queen of Scots were removed, by order of her son King James the First, from Peterborough, on the eleventh of October 1612, and deposited in the Chapel of King Henry the Seventh at Westminster.

THE HELMET AND ESCUTCHEON.

From a Drawing by Dugdale.

THE END.

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